



Rastafarian music in contemporary Jamaica : A study of socioreligious music of the Rastafarian Movement in Jamaica

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RASTAFARIAN MUSIC IN CONTEMPORARY JAMAICA
A Study of Socioreligious Music
of the
Rastafarian Movement in Jamaica

YOSHIKO S. NAGASHIMA

《SYMBOLISM AND WORLD VIEW IN ASIA AND AFRICA》

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I am pleased to introduce the third volume in the monograph series: **PERFORMANCE IN CULTURE**.

This monograph series has been established as an outgrowth of the general project: "Symbolism and Cosmology in Asia and Africa," an ongoing activity of the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. This project has provided a regular intellectual forum for an international group of scholars in Philosophy, History, Literary Studies, Folklore, Anthropology and Sociology since 1977. The common interest of all members of the project has been concern with the analysis of symbolism in human culture. In recent years the attention of the project has been focussed on the development of comprehensive and original views in the areas of cultural semiotics and performance theory.

In 1981, a highly successful conference was held at Tsukuba University under the auspices of the project with the generous sponsorship of the Leisure Development Center of Japan. This conference, entitled "The Anthropology of Spectacles and Entertainment" brought scholars from six nations together in a stimulating series of discussions relating to problems of the study of performance in its cultural setting.

Following this conference, it was decided to publish this series of monographs. The aim of the series is to bridge diverse disciplines in the study of performance theory, cultural semiotics and the study of cosmology. Since much work in these areas thus far has been almost exclusively programmatic and speculative, it was felt that emphasis in this series should be placed on theoretical development derived from direct field observation. Thus each monograph will ideally provide not only new theoretical advances, but also fresh ethnographic insights.

Tokyo
March, 1984

Masao Yamaguchi
Series Editor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is based on my period of residence in Jamaica from October 1978 to July 1980, while I was affiliated with the School of Area Studies of the Univ. of Tsukuba in Japan. The original version, entitled *Rastafarian Music in Jamaica: Its Historical and Cultural Significance*, was presented as an M.A. thesis in International Studies to the School in January 1981. Almost all of the contents of the thesis are used, after revision, in this volume. Some summarised parts were also used for Japanese publication as the articles "Rastafarian Hymn" (1) – (3) in 1981–1982.

I was sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of Education from 1978 to 1979 when I was a specially admitted student of the Dept. of History of the Univ. of the West Indies, Mona (the then Dept. Head, Dr. Carl Campbell), to both of which I am thankful. In completing this work, I have owed considerable debt to too many individuals and institutions to mention here. However, the research could never have been finished without innumerable Rastafarians' honest responses to my observation, participation, and personal interviews. I would like to express my sincere thanks to them all and to other helpful non-Rasta informants. Those groups mentioned in Prelude and elsewhere in this monograph, especially the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari and the Light of Saba, are gratefully acknowledged. And I should not omit the following people for their advice, informative stimulation, encouragement and/or kindest help: Associate Professors Fumio Nakagawa and Takashi Maeyama (Univ. of Tsukuba); Drs. Edward Kamau Brathwaite and Victor Chang, Mr. Ikael Hutchinson, Mr. Barry Chevannes (U.W.I., Mona); Ms. Olive Lewin (Office of Prime Minister), Ms. Marjorie Whyllie (the School of Music), Bro. Cedric "Im" Brooks and Mr. Sonny Bradshaw (Jamaica Federation of Musicians); the librarians and staff of the Main Library and the Institute of Social and Economic Research (U.W.I., Mona), and the West Indian Reference Library, Institute of Jamaica (including African Caribbean section, especially Mr. Garth White); Dr. William Beeman (Brown Univ.), Dr. Betty Robinson (U.W.I., Mona) and Mr. Frank Cooper.

I must acknowledge with gratitude to Professor Masao Yamaguchi of the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa at Tokyo Univ. of Foreign Studies, and the very helpful staff at the Institute, who all made it possible to publish this volume. I am also grateful to Dr. Raymond McDermott (Columbia Univ.), Mr. Lewis Gebhardt and Ms. Grace Wong Lakneo for checking my English of several stages of the draft. Finally, I must express infinite thanks to my parents and husband for their constant support, self-sacrifice and love.

Y.S.N.

Tokyo, December 1983

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PRELUDE

A. UNDERSTANDING THE RASTAFARIANS

Rastafarians are those who worship the late Ethiopian emperor, the last emperor so far in Ethiopian history, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, who is usually addressed as “Jah”, deriving from “Jehoviah”. He was a great grandson of King Saheka Selassie of Shoa and was called Ras Tafari¹ until he took his coronation name, Haile Selassie, meaning “the Might of the Trinity” in November 1930. Hence his self-acknowledged followers began to be called Ras Tafarians in Jamaica. And, as the great majority of followers and sympathisers have been lower class, Rastafarianism is also considered a “religion of the oppressed”.

Historicity has revealed the religious, cultural, socioeconomic, and political impact of the Rastafarian movement on the wider society of Jamaica. In addition, the impact of the movement on other Caribbean societies, especially the small Anglophone islands, has extended culturally, religiously, and sociopolitically. The Rastafarian influence has not been confined solely to the Caribbean : it has spread to larger countries such as England, the U.S.A., and Canada, particularly via West Indian immigrants to large cities like London, Birmingham, New York, Miami and Toronto. The movement was racially and ethnically rather limited to the black population in diaspora; nonetheless, a certain sympathy and appreciation for the movement have been observed among other peoples. However, this volume limits examination to the Rastafarians in Jamaica.

Religiously, the Rastafarian movement has shown dramatic growth in numbers and complexity of grouping, since it commenced with only a few preachers. It has attracted people with a religiously empty or ambiguous identity, especially in the younger generation; its beliefs and creeds are specific and appealing. Rastafarian use of the Bible and Christian doctrines, a kind of black theology mixed with Ethiopian Coptic Christianity, has brought to the fore, questions and arguments about whether established Western Christianity particularly Protestantism, long practised in Jamaica, has provided the most relevant religion and identity to the dominantly black population of Jamaica.

Politically, Rastafarians have pressed for an answer from both the establishment and themselves to whether the use and interpretation of the Bible have been right. Rastafarian protest focuses on the prejudice and the perverted historiography forced on them by the power and authority of the white race.

The impact of the movement has been great on a wide range of cultural institutions. Particularly as Jamaica approached its independence in 1962, intellectuals

have argued the complex issue of a national identity to promote genuine independence in every aspect. Rastafarians opposed the national motto "Out of Many, One People", because it emphasised a heterogeneous racial composition while nearly 90 percent of the total population are of African origin.² Rastafarians rejected the white cultural identity perpetuated by British colonialism: they have insisted that Jamaica should be based upon black identity.

The 1960s were a decade of political and sociocultural turbulence. With the growing verbal and physical violence from "rudies" or "rude b(w)oy's"³ who fringe the Rastafarians, Jamaican society could not ignore but had to face squarely their protests. Rudies and Rastafarians are in fact, the lost sons of a contradictory Jamaica, seeking and demanding a true Jamaican cultural identity out of desperate frustration. Partial answers have appeared. And here Rastafarians' strong assertions and proposals to search for "African" identity have contributed to succor the awakening consciousness of "blackness" in Jamaica. Thus recently, the growing culture has sprouted and even bloomed in parts, especially in the arts — music, musicals and dramas, dance, colouring, painting, sculpture, and crafts —, spoken language, literature — novels, poems and dramas as well as in lifestyles in general, reflected in diet, hair style, clothing, accessories, etc.

Socioeconomically, Rastafarians have protested against the prevalent individualistic and imperialistic capitalism that produced the African slave trade and the slavery-supported plantation system, and massive poverty. Their attack on the established status quo and the stark distinction between the few haves and the majority have-nots caused them to review subsistence society, allegedly practiced by their African forefathers, and advocate a more or less nationalisation of the means and management of production.

Their ideology here is based on naturalism and proposes to return to the original ideal state before Adam and Eve were exiled from Eden, and to early Christian communalism. They have attempted to realise what they believe is best by creating communes, each headed by a certain influential leader. Their attempts and achievements of self-support and mutual cooperation have been gradually appreciated particularly during the high unemployment of the late 1970s and early 1980s (cf. Nagashima 1981a). Though materialisation of such a scheme was and still is impossible at a national level, their lifestyles have been modelled and even adopted at various sections of the population, for example, in community development.

These problems and proposals are closely linked with politics, yet Rastafarians do not, or refuse to, participate in Jamaican politics as they have often felt betrayed. Their tenet of non-involvement, however, has been broken from time to time. For instance, a political-minded Rastafarian leader stood as a candidate in the general elections of 1967. Some have tried to organise themselves towards a political body through the circulation of pamphlets and tracts, trade unionism, and cultural presen-

tations to foster unity among the diffused Rastafarians. Such activities have generally been unsuccessful. Rastafarians' participation in the political cockpit disturbed not only the government but the general public, for they were marked by justifiable, if eccentric, aggressive actions. In any case the politicians have had to reckon with Rastafarian indignation, scorn, and contempt towards the government and its politics, both domestically and internationally.

Given the strength of the movement, Rastafarian studies⁴ are significant in order to understand not only the Rastafarian movement per se but Jamaican society and culture wherever it has spread. They will also contribute to the study of other Afro-American and creole societies.

B. RASTAFARIANS AND RASTAFARIAN MUSIC

It is undeniable today that Rastafarians have contributed to the birth and development of Jamaican pop music. They have to shape Jamaican pop particularly since the evolution of reggae from the late 1960s to the early 1970s. With the international craze of reggae music, the Rastafarians themselves have gained recognition, for reggae is reputed to be the Rastafarian sound. A good number of the popular musicians in Jamaica are those of pop music, currently reggae, and a great majority are said to be Rastafarians or sympathisers. As reggae increased in popularity, its listeners have wanted to understand the social beliefs behind it. Reggae has been a gateway to the Rastafarian world.

Rastafarians have excellent talents to make the best use of music, knowing the power of sounds for communication. For them, music is what is or should be shared as an identification. Rastafarian-oriented pop music has come to be regarded as more favourable, appealing, and influential to the majority of the Jamaican public than Western classical and traditional folk music, partly because they know the melodic, instrumental, and vocal sounds and rhythms intrinsically their own. They are even proud of reflecting public value-cum-aesthetic orientations — those of unique syncretism of the Western “great” tradition and African “little” tradition. Rastafarian pop music, in effect, has been shared and enjoyed regardless of race, ethnicity, nationality, colour, or class. Because of its musicality, it has often overcome cultural barriers.

A distinction should be made here between reggae, pop Rastafarian music on one hand, and “Nyabynghi” (or “byngi”),⁵ or “grounation” (or “goundation”)⁶ music, which is categorised as ritual music. The former is well known, listened to, and well appreciated, reflecting the brighter side of Rastafarian influences, represented in various local pop music. The latter is less known, less listened to, and less appreciated, showing the very nature and the setting of the so far disliked Ras-

tafarian ordinary meetings.

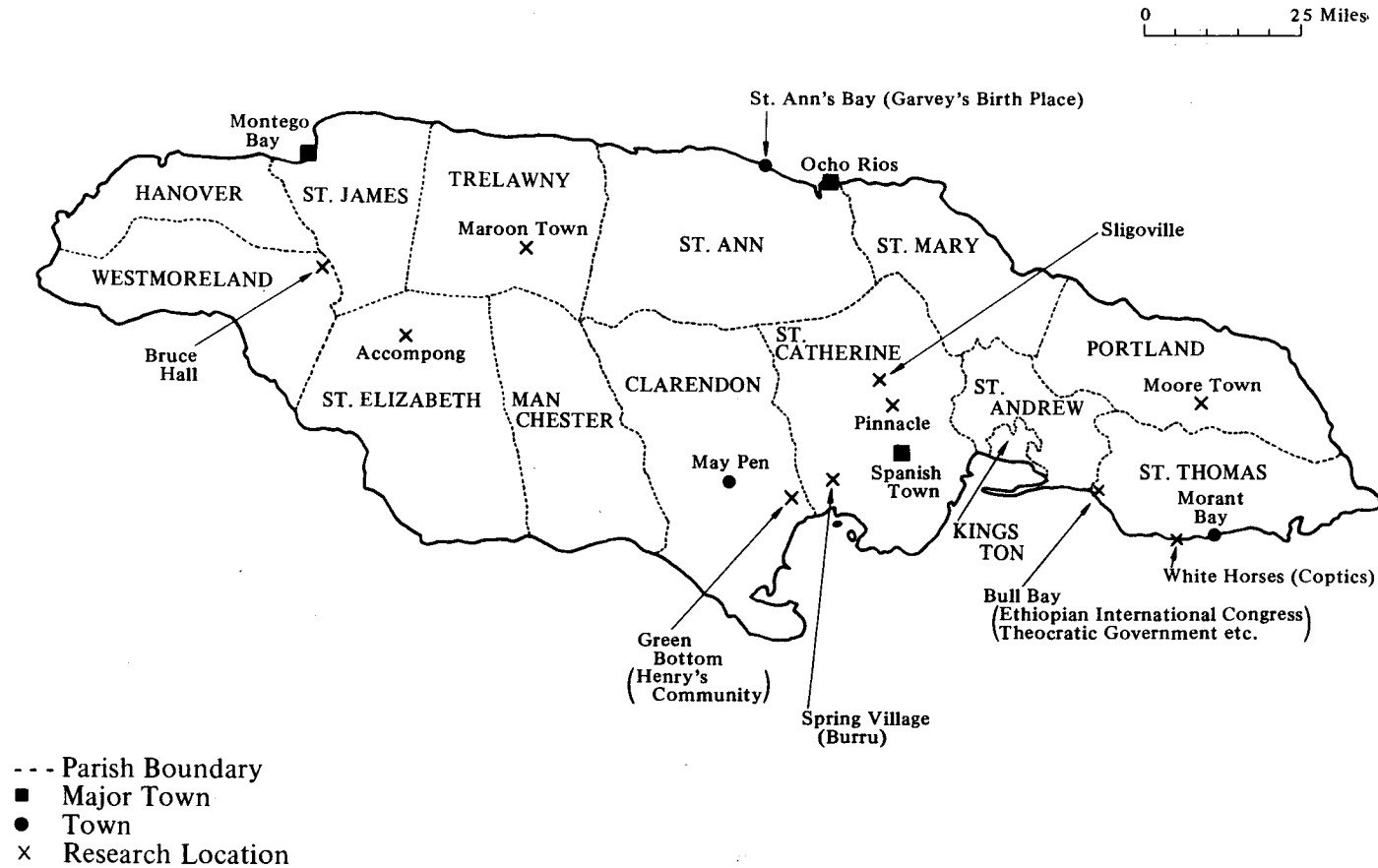
A (Nya)bynghi or grounation signifies a central ritual gathering led by music. A gathering is partly formal and partly informal. Most gatherings are not organised as such, without a set of fixed programmes and order of procedures. Compared with reggae performance, much less artificiality creeps into a bynghi because of its religiosity. Some bynghis are performed totally dependent on major male members of a group or a subgroup, especially on their "naturalness", that of feeling, emotion, sentiment, "spiritual" movement, faith, reason, quality of musical performance, and so forth. What will happen next is not previously determined in many casual bynghis. The content and style of such performances spontaneously develops only in the sequence of time, flow of sounds and "spirits", inspiration, and mood. This is not so, however, in the case of more formal gatherings which exhibit adjusted procedure, as observed in the sabbath worship of the local community called the Ethiopian International Congress, monthly functions of an enlarging organisation called The Twelve Tribes (of Israel), and Sunday services of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, an affiliate of Orthodox Christianity.

In a bynghi or grounation, music occupies the leading role as the pace setter of the whole time,⁷ as the means of communication⁸ with Jah and among the participants, and as the accompaniment with solos for chanting, dancing, and sometimes for "reasoning,"⁹ hence functioning as the main determinant of the quality of the whole gathering. The music is usually termed "chanting and drumming", the two fundamental sounds that are natural to them. There seems to be no bynghi function without music, and there are some gatherings with only musical performances. In the case of a get-together of smoking "ganja" (marihuana)¹⁰ and reasoning, there might be no word for the event, and people often say only, "go and reason".

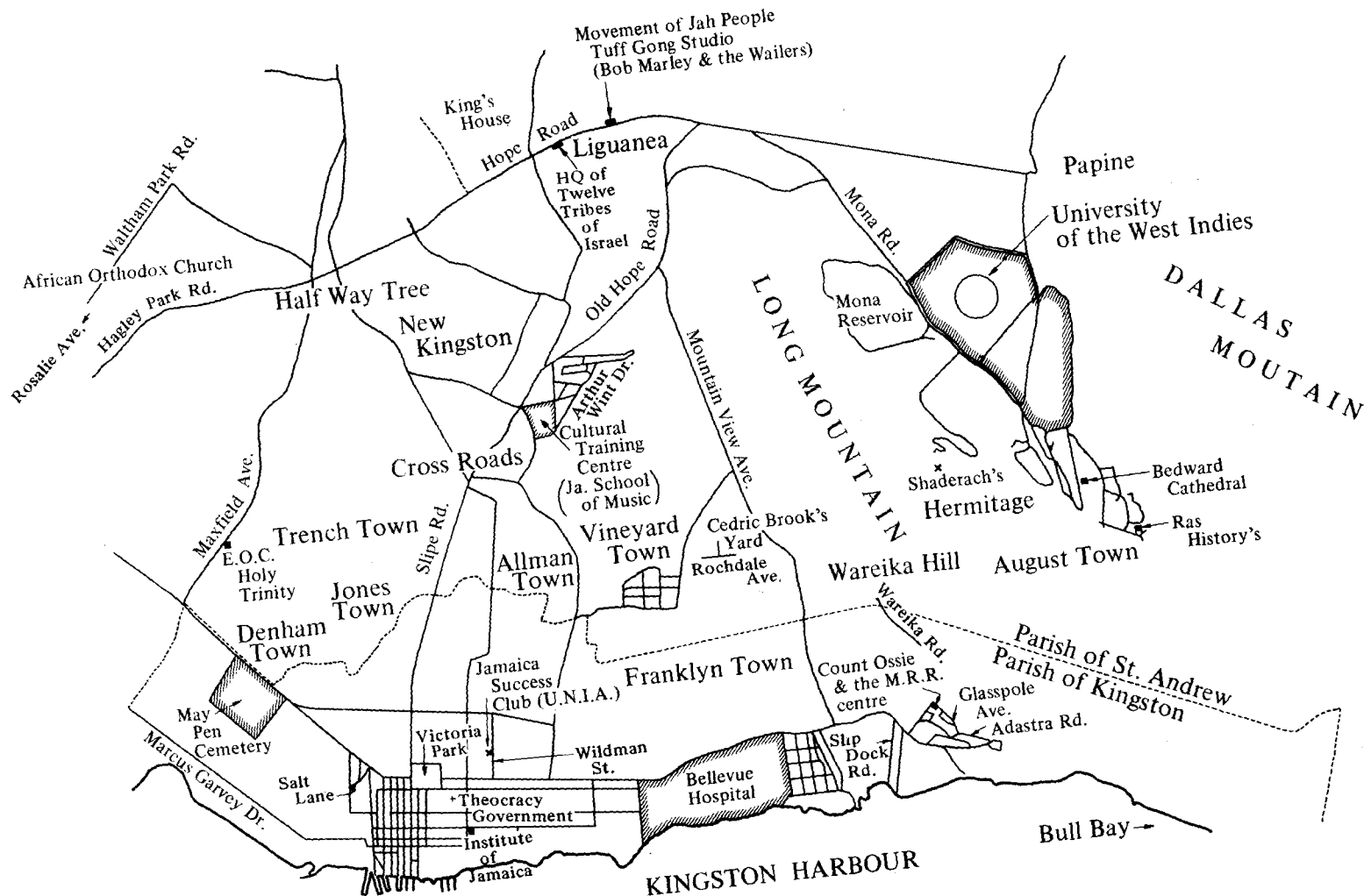
I pay more attention to bynghi music rather than reggae in this monograph primarily because bynghi is cherished with total commitment to its performance: people pour out their genuine feelings and ideas through, and attach the most intrinsic and significant meaning to what they love. Another major reason for focusing on bynghi is based on its religiosity, which is a fundamental of the nature and function of the Rastafarian movement. Even through reggae lyrics, Rastafarian faith is communicated as messages to listeners. So bynghi songs can be compared to hymns. As long as there are bynghi gatherings, the religious aspect of the Rastafarian movement will continue to develop. Participation in bynghis provides individuals with a vital role for ascertaining and enhancing Rastafarian faith.

With its extensive influence on and contribution to other areas of Jamaican cultural development, Rastafarian music, including pop music,¹¹ should hold a key to understanding a vital and dynamic Jamaican culture; however, it has been somewhat academically overlooked. When the music is mentioned in Rastafarian studies, it receives only supplementary explanations or minimal statements about its cultural significance.¹²

[MAP I] JAMAICA: Parishes and Research Locations



[MAP II]
Some Parts of
Kingston



C. ON THIS MONOGRAPH

This monograph is based on my original field research and on local oral and written materials. Due to lack of convenient transportation, my field research was done principally in the Kingston vicinity, including St. Andrew, St. Thomas and St. Catherine. The places mainly referred to are shown in the Maps I and II.

Field research was by participatory observation and personal interviews. However, "official" (in public) taping and photographing were forbidden in most of the Rastafarian ordinary gatherings, worship rituals and ceremonies partly because of their antimaterialistic ideology. Whenever possible therefore, I had to obtain special permission to record or photograph. Otherwise I took notes or relied on memory.

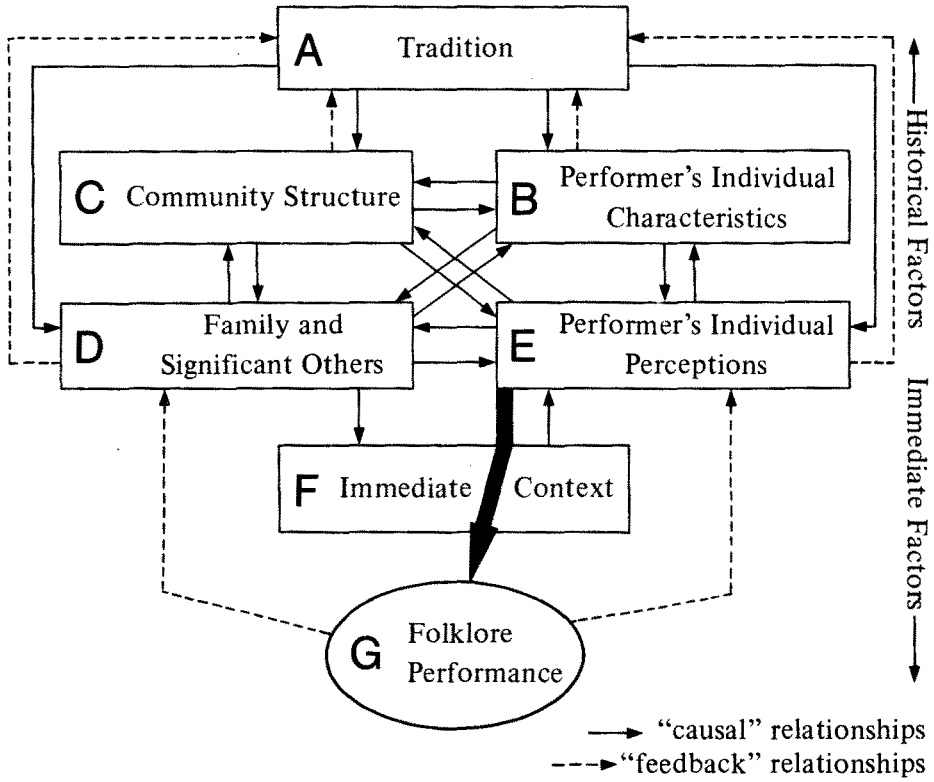
The main groups contacted were: Ethiopian International Congress, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Judah Coptics, Rastafarian Movement Association, Rastafari Theocratic Government, and Twelve Tribes of Israel. As to Rastafarian musical groups, the most informative and cooperative for me in terms of personal interviews and participatory observation were the members of the Light of Saba and the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari. Musicians or other groups also offered some opinions and comments.

In this monograph, I try to deal with music in the sociocultural context and emphasise its related areas, without a clear-cut methodology. Here my intention does not lie in presenting a theory but in ethnographical material to be referred to and developed further. The aim was to show that a musical study is open to anyone who discovers its significance in culture – especially its dynamism, popularity, and universality.

Throughout the monograph, a historical perspective is, directly and indirectly, paid attention to. Sounds vanish instantly, but their echoes or musical seeds have been implanted with colourful imagination within listeners' hearts, so much so that even meanings and symbolic interactions as well as techniques or materially tangible procedures have been handed down with certain changes, which are constitutive of a tradition. History of sounds survives with changes through culturally organised and recognised performances. A historical perspective is always necessary when dealing with a society and culture which has undergone dynamic changes. Some writers on "performance" are criticised for lacking historical "concern with the ongoing dynamics of tradition", while emphasising the communication process and "the micro-dynamics of folklore performance at a particular moment in time" (Joyner 1975:256). His model (*ibid.*:258) for "classes of variables affecting folklore performance" considering historical factors is shown below for a useful reference (DIAGRAM I).

[DIAGRAM 1]

Classes of Variables Affecting Folklore Performance



from Joyner (1975)

NOTES

1. "Ras" was a title for royalty in Ethiopia, and "Tafari" was his family name.
2. See the *Annual Abstract of Statistics* (1965), No. 24, Table 8 (Kingston: Dept. of Statistics).
3. A "Rudie" or "rude b(w)oy" is generally a native youth who expresses inner conflicts, frustration, outrage and instant desires very violently, often with harmful results. "Totally disenchanted with the ruling system," they are regarded as sons of the period of the social catastrophes caused by the prevailing ill-fated colonialism and neocolonialism. The majority of rudies were from the lower class. They appeared and became infamous from the late 1950s. The 1960s can be thought especially as the burning decade of the stage for rudies. They have been abhorred mostly because of their arms such as cutting instruments, guns and explosives. See further, White (1967) and Nettleford (1970).
4. A chronological survey of the Rastafarian movement reveals that a widening range of interest together with its volume has been added to it. As Fr. Joseph Owens suggested, there seems to exist "some correlation between the respect accorded Rastafarians in Jamaican society and the amount of literature written to interpret and explain them" (Owens 1975:86). As time goes on, the Rastafarian movement has increased its scale and diversity in itself and naturally its impact on the wider society. Rastafarian studies in general so far, have proliferated in volume and in scope as the movement has developed and multiplied its significance in role, function, and influence both within and without Jamaica.

Serious attempts to understand the movement do not seem to have begun until the early 1950s. (Before that time, newspaper articles were the dominant source of information.) Beginning with G. E. Simpson (1955a, 1955b['70], 1956), the following major researchers have presented substantial documents on the movement or on some sections of Rastafarians, based on direct field research: the U.W.I. staff [M. G. Smith, R. Augier, R. Nettleford] (1960), [K. Norris (1962)], H. O. Patterson (1964), L. Barrett (1968, 1974, 1977), S. Kitinger (1969, 1971), [Nettleford (1970)], A. B. Chevannes (1971a, 1971b, 1975, 1976, 1978), M. Planno and C. Yawney (1973), Yawney (1974, 1976), Owens (1976), and de Albuquerque (1977, 1979).

5. "Nyabynghi", commonly called bynghi, is the central collective unit for the ritual and cultural orientation among Rastafarians. "Nyabynghi" formally means "death to the white oppressors," which was advocated by the aggressive and sometimes atrocious tribal group, the Mau Mau of Kenya to rebel against British

colonialism. Whenever Rastafarians cry “Nyabynghi!”, they mean the original militancy. However, the degree of such an attitude has been mitigated. One piece of evidence is the abbreviated word “bynghi” with mild intonation. As time has gone on, Rastafarians have tended to soften their violently hostile attitude and behaviour to the white race. Today, among the genuine Rastafarians, the bynghi signifies the most cherished occasion for worship and sharing along with education (“reasoning”) and entertainment. Another *sine qua non* for an attribute of the bynghi is their music (chiefly drumming and chanting) and ganja smoking. Hence, it is a microcosm of communal Rastafarians as a whole and a voluntary association.

6. “Grounation” (or groundation) is a Rastafarian term which combines “ground” and “foundation”.
7. Time is extremely significant particularly in music. While space is basic in other art forms such as painting, sculpture, architecture, time is the most fundamental element to compose and organise sounds, to create music. (Cf. Dance and poetry are closely linked with music also.) As regards a philosophical concern with time and space together with tone and motion, see Zuckerkandl (1956).
8. Though I emphasise the relevance of music as vital communication medium, I agree basically with the opinion supported by many ethnomusicologists that music cannot be a universal language.
9. “To reason” or a “reasoning” has a very special meaning to the Rastafarians, most of whom were unable to obtain the formal education to their satisfaction due to socioeconomic problems. They developed their own method of communication and education among themselves instead. It is a “pedagogy of the oppressed”.* To reason includes not only dialogues, conversation and discussion but meditation of each individual that would be internalised. The subject matter of such a reasoning covers nearly every aspect of life. Politics and economics, both domestic and international, as religion and culture are the favoured and urgent topics due to the prejudiced and perverted history. They gaze at every phase of the world ironically from the black point of view, the oppressed, and the suffering.

In order to reason, they canonise ganja (a local word for marihuana), naming it as “the holy herb”, “the sacred weed”, or “the wisdom weed”. They smoke it in a “chalice”, handing it to the next person in turn during the reasoning. They ascribe the effect of the herb to its sacrament. Inhaling the herb causes heightened feelings and clearer senses for it mesmerises and stimulates the nervous system. As a result, they feel that their concentration power becomes strengthened. They admit these effects joyfully since piled up frustration can be

removed, however temporarily.

*See Freire (1972 [1968]). His approach seems to resemble Walter Rodney's (the late Guyanese politician and historian), though Rodney, as a political activist, was much more concerned with political enlightenment, and then political mobilisation of the oppressed people.

10. "Ganja" is a local name (probably derived from an (East) Indian original) for *Cannabis sativa*, a kind of marihuana. It was first brought to Jamaica with Indians of indentured labour after the end of slavery. Its cultivation and uses for smoking, cooking (eating), drinking both as food and medicinal prescriptions as in tonic (strong white rum with soaked ganja) have spread widely, and it has become a common practise among the lower class black Jamaicans, too, predominantly those in the countryside. Not many of Rastafarians know this fact but regard it as an "African" tradition and "Israelites".

Only after ganja was illegalised as "dangerous drugs" in April 1948, has it been regarded as the seed of the evil or the abominable. However, people have continued to grow and trade it partly because of its illegality; for its value has increased dramatically as a socioeconomic crisis has climaxed in the country. In addition, foreign private illicit traders particularly from the United States fly back and forth in exchange for the very needed cash. At present in the harsh socioeconomic crises, ganja trade is the evil necessity for the survival of the country. Thus arguments for its legalisation have been proposed by some intellectual realists apart from Rastafarians, who sanctify ganja as the "Holy Weed", "weed of wisdom", etc. Prominent reggae superstars such as Bob Marley and Peter Tosh have advocated the sweetness of the "Kaya" (Bob Marley's hit song) and their "right" to "Legalize It" (Peter Tosh's). Recent research has proved the effectiveness of ganja for so-called incurable disease.

11. Though newspaper articles are excluded here, these are a most informative source of information. Jamaican newspapers with supplement magazines naturally have contributed to circulating information as well as advertising Jamaican popular music. In addition, music magazines, e.g., *Black Music*, *Black Music and Jazz Review*, *Blues and Jazz*, *The Roots News*, *The Blues*, as well as ordinary foreign newspapers and magazines like *New York Times* and *New York Magazine*, *Players Magazines* have published articles on Jamaican pop music.
12. Informative accounts which deal with Rastafarian music, though some are fragmentary, are found chronologically as follows: Baxter (1970), O'Gorman (1972), Courlander (1976), Fearon (1976), Johnson (1976), Davis and Simon (1977), McKnight (1977), Reckord (1977), White (1977, n.d.), Spence (1978), Hebdidge (1979), Crook (1980), and Clarke (1981).

CHAPTER I

A SKETCH OF THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT - ITS PAST AND PRESENT

It is impossible to estimate the number of Rastafarians in Jamaica because they refuse to be counted either officially or unofficially.¹ When Rastafarians mention a number, they often do not tell the truth so as to disguise themselves, to avoid suspicion, persecution, and attack. In addition, the number varies with the definition of "Rastafarian". Nonetheless it might be helpful to refer to figures given by some previous researchers.

Leonard Barrett (1977) estimated that "the present membership..., including sympathisers, may number one hundred thousand".² He also quoted a somewhat exaggerated figure; "six tenth" of Jamaicans from a "knowledgeable Rasta leader", Sam Brown,³ which is similar to Klaus de Albuquerque's citation – a half of the population in 1977.⁴ When Barrett first conducted systematic research among them from 1963 to 1966, he gave a figure of 70,000 in 1968, generalising from estimates of at least five leading Rastafarians (Barrett 1968, Owens 1976:22). In 1960, there might have been around 60,000 brethren and adherents,⁵ and in 1953, about 1,800 (Simpson 1955a, 1955b, 1970).

The movement started with several preacher-leaders – Leonard Howell, Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley, Paul Earlington, Vernal Davis, Ferdinand Richetts and Robert Hinds⁶ – and their followers. Each messenger knew that Ras Tafari was enthroned as the Ethiopian Emperor (the only black king in those days) with the title of "the Power of the Trinity", "Conquering Lion of Tribe of Judah", "King of kings and Lord of lords", etc., as if to symbolise the second coming of Christ, as the returned messiah in the earthly Kingdom of God, in Christian eschatology, and millenarianism.

The Biblical doctrine, ideas, and allegories have appealed to most of the Jamaican population up to the present time. They have offered consolation and "salvation" to the oppressed since the evangelical sects were introduced to Jamaica beginning with the Moravians in 1754 (see TABLE 1). Most of the religious sects brought into or originating on the island have been profoundly influenced by Christianity and the Bible itself as their basic foundation.

[TABLE 1]

Arrival of Evangelicals to Jamaica in the Colonial Periods

Year	Denomination
1754	Moravians
1782	Baptists
1789	Methodists
1824	Presbyterians

Rastafarianism falls into the same stream. This is one of the major reasons why it has been labelled in many ways ranging from a quasi- or pseudo-Christianity, religion, church, to cult. It has also been described escapist, Satan's work, and the devil's in content.

A. HISTORICAL STREAM OF ETHIOPIANISM

1. BEDWARDISM⁷ AS A PRECURSOR TO THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

Jamaica has a long history of religiopolitical resistance against its rulers. Nearly a decade before the genesis of the Rastafarian movement, another Christian-based movement, Bedwardism, aroused the populace into social turmoil. Its alleged fore-runner was H. E. S. Woods (alias Shakespeare), according to A. A. Brooks (1909), a Bedwardite. Bedward, a Shakespeare's disciple, was the originator of the movement. Bedwardism is a branch of the Afro-Jamaican Native Baptist movement, which has existed as a heavy undercurrent among the Jamaican lower class from the late eighteenth century, through the Great Revivals of the 1860s, and to the present.

With the unfulfillment (or "break-down") of Bedward's prophecies,⁸ his final sentence to Bellevue Hospital, the insane asylum in Kingston (1921),⁹ and his death there (1930), his followers,¹⁰ allegedly numbering at their height thousands island-wide, lessened drastically; now only elder members gather occasionally in the hurricane-damaged, thick-walled cathedral in August Town, the base of Bedwardism¹¹ (see TABLE 2). Its importance lies in how it developed and at the same time why it lost its authority and power as a movement. The key point here is that it did not function merely as a religious body but as a sociopolitical body as well.

[TABLE 2]

Number of Bedwardites

Year	Number of Bedwardites	% of Population
1911	1,135	0.1%
1921	1,309	0.2%
1943	332	Less than 1%
(1960)	Not stated	Not stated

Source : Chevannes (1971 : 66)

Bedwardism developed by appealing directly to followers and to those who had heard about them. In those days, religious life played a very important role particularly among the majority of the rural and lower-class urban people. This was more so when physical effects and remedies were revealed. Bedward's healing services at the Hope River, worked to increase his popularity and authority as a divine healer and dignified preacher.

He preached and prophesied in rather racial tones that "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands to God"(Psalms 68:31)¹² and that "there is a white wall and a black wall, and the white wall has been closing around the black wall; but now the black wall has become bigger than the white wall. Let them remember the Morant War."¹³ Even the colonial authorities caught the threatening messages, fearing sociopolitical insurrection. In order to suppress a potential revolt, the police-army forces were used against the prophesied white march (as Bedwardites are dressed all in white) led by Bedward in April 1921.

However, according to the elders,¹⁴ the arrest and trials of Bedward and "five other men" paradoxically revealed the precarious situation of the authorities who displayed their weakness by exercising oppression. In addition, they were unable to destroy the movement totally because of the unshakable attachment and faithfulness to Bedward himself, which was exhibited through religious worship and gatherings. He was adored as a great prophet. His prophecies, however ridiculous and unseemly they appeared to others, were fulfilled in mysterious ways. While outsiders had contempt for Bedward and his disciples, the Bedwardites also "laughed at dem" on the other side.

As was shown in Bedwardism, the notion of "Ethiopia" has been a background for messianism in Jamaica from the time of slavery to the Rastafarian movement. There exists a record of the 1748 law that mentions "the humble petition of the innocent distressed sons of Chus [*sic*], commonly called the negro slaves of [Kingston] and precinct, in behalf of themselves and one hundred and six thousand of their brethren, unjustly and inhumanly detained in thralldom and bondage...."¹⁵

The land of Cush is Ethiopia. Therefore, from the outset, the negro Africans were considered as Ethiopians, the burnt people, by their masters. Interestingly, the Africans themselves had an identity as Ethiopians.

The term Ethiopianism was introduced to Jamaica by a slave-born American Baptist preacher who was brought to the island for the slaves. He was George Liele, who first established the Ethiopian Baptist Church there in 1734 (Barrett 1977:76). This ideology of Ethiopianism became the backbone common to the mass revolts including the Maroons, threatening the white masters from time to time.

2. GARVEYISM¹⁶ AS A PRECURSOR TO THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

It was not until Marcus M. Garvey re-claimed Ethiopianism for the afflicted fellow black diaspora in the New World¹⁷ that it gave birth to the various social, political and cultural programmes and movements on a large scale. Garvey and Garveyism have received controversial appraisal both when he was alive and after his death, as is the case when a great prophet is not welcome at home. However, Garvey's visions and their partial realisation into actual schemes while he was alive had a striking impact upon those who had experienced poverty, political deprivation, racial prejudice and persecution. A large section of Rastafarians have been Garveyites or sympathisers. One of the very reasons why Garveyites streamed into Rastafarianism is the social, economical, political and ideological background common to both.

Garvey's actual commitment and activities in Jamaica were neither large scale nor long in duration. Nor did it appeal to many followers as it had in the United States.¹⁸ His Jamaican followers did not dissipate but continued his toiling schemes and activities even after his final departure—exile to England in 1935 out of frustration and discontent with the Jamaican society. He was incessantly intimidated and opposed by the establishment, particularly the growing powerful coloured (brown) middle class, whose interests were totally against the ideology of charismatic Garvey and that of the lower-class negro masses. Though disappointed by his farewell, Garveyites forgot neither the promised vision of the African redemption through the “(Go) Back to Africa” movement¹⁹ nor the racial upliftment via education²⁰ and politics as well as the worship of “God of Ethiopia”.²¹

B. CONTEMPORARY ETHIOPIANISM - THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

1. THE BIRTH OF THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

Garvey predicted coming salvation for Africans embodied through an African king-saviour: "Look to Africa for the crowning of a Black King; he shall be the Redeemer." In addition, another famous revelational message was alive for the Garveyites. The Biblical passage, "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands to God," was concordant with what A. Bedward had repeatedly preached.²² So when the news of the 111th coronation of Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie was reported to Jamaica, some eager seekers of Ethiopian salvation began to contemplate whether the newly enthroned Ras Tafari Maconen was the prophesied returned messiah.

In the Bible, key verses were found mainly in the Apocalypse, Revelation, Chapter 5.

"Who is worthy to open the scroll and break its seals?" And no one in heaven or on earth or under the earth was able to open the scroll or to look into it, and I wept much Then one of the elders said to me, "Weep not; lo, *the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David*, has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals."

(Revelation 5:2-5, R.S.V. Emphasis is mine.)

Ras Tafari claimed his royal lineage as the descendant of the union of King Solomon of ancient Israel, David's son and the Queen of Sheba (cf. I Kings 1:1-13). The image of the lion was also attributed to Biblical passages here and there, particularly in the Revelation, as well as a broad yet vivid image of the kingdom of beasts in Africa.²³ Within three years of the coronation, there emerged several confirmed believers of the divinity of Haile Selassie in Kingston; each began to preach, independently of the Biblical inspiration.

In time, the early messengers (Howell, Hibbert, Dunkley, Hinds, etc.) gradually attracted a considerable number of followers, and they came to be known as Ras Tafarians in a somewhat queer manner. While the movement has evolved into a recognisable, identifiable entity with the implication of fixedness about it, there still remains energy and dynamism to it. This is chiefly due to individualism in the realisation of faith (not conversion). How one becomes or is awakened as a true Rastafarian depends on "inborn conception". The Rastafarian faith supposedly inherent within one's soul is awakened largely by means of inspiration, vision, and the like. There exists a free state of revelation and revolution of the mind. There may be as many paths to realisation as there are Rastafarians. Hence the Rastafarian faith appears amorphous and sometimes contradictory to the outsiders' eyes. The Rastafarian movement as a collective group had diversity inherent from its birth as each preacher

seemed to form a cell group with certain peculiarities.

Yet some generalisation is possible out of diversity within diversity. When G. E. Simpson conducted his research in 1953, he could observe the following common principles²⁴ :

- (1) Black men are reincarnations of the ancient Israelites and were exiled to the West Indies because of their transgressions.
- (2) Haile Selassie is the living God and Emperor of the World.
- (3) Ethiopia is Heaven. The Jamaican situation is a hopeless hell.
- (4) Black men are superior to white men.
- (5) Soon, black men will avenge themselves on white men for the atrocities of the past, and will compel white men to serve them.
- (6) Their God and Emperor will soon arrange for them to return to their homeland Ethiopia.

(Simpson 1955)

The 1960 Report showed that generalisation had become more untenable and thus reduced the common tenets to:

- (1) Ras Tafari is the living God.
- (2) Ethiopia is the black man's home.
- (3) Repatriation is the way of redemption for black men. It has been foretold, and will occur shortly.
- (4) The ways of the white men are evil, especially for the black .

(Smith *et al.* 1960)

It has been largely accepted that Haile Selassie is the living God and that the repatriation to Ethiopia or Africa is the only means of redemption for the black people in diaspora. Now, even the hitherto heretical question of Selassie's divinity is discussed among some Rastafarians. Instead, a special allegiance to the emperor has been more prevalent than worship particularly among the youth.

2. THE EMBRYONIC STAGE OF THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

The first social disturbance of Rastafarians began in December 1933, when *The Daily Gleaner*, the newspaper speaking for the middle class and the then pro-colonial strata, reported "BLATANT SWINDLE BEING CARRIED ON IN PARISH OF ST THOMAS". It was Howell's distribution of Selassie's photographs at one shilling apiece. He was reported clad in full black, losing his reason, and followed by some eight hundred people (*The Daily Gleaner*, Dec. 16, 1933).

Early the following month, Howell, Hinds and the followers were charged with "alleged sedition," and "disorderly conduct and assaulting" a corporal who went into a large religious open air meeting of Rastafarians (led by Howell and Hinds),

where he was “ejected”, “assaulted” so that he “injured one of his fingers”. As a result, Hinds was sentenced to 30 days of heavy labour in prison while the others received lesser sentences. The magistrate warned them to learn decency and respectability as “citizens” (*The Daily Gleaner*, Jan. 5, 1934).

It was when Howell’s and Hinds’ cases were subsequently reported, in March 1934, that the wider society began to recognise the significance and the Rastafarian threat. The reports gave much press coverage to the Rastafarians and their claims, but the newspaper was still overwhelmingly biased in its accounts.

In 1935, the more progressive *Jamaica Times* printed a lengthy article by F. Philos on “Secret Society to destroy whites/Reported to be existing with headquarters in Abyssinia/Army of 20,000,000”, where the word “NYA-BINGHI” implied “Death to the oppressors of the black races” (Dec. 7). This was the tip of the iceberg of the Rastafarian movement. Through the mass media and word of mouth, the image of the Rastafarian menace formed among the general public.

With the initiation of police harassment, arrests and subsequent judicial cases, the reports were beginning to pose social questions mainly for religiosity: whether Rastafarians were admissible from the point of established orthodox Christian thought; ganja smoking, cultivation, and trade; sociopolitical seeds for sedition and treason felony; and verbal and physical violence. In this respect, “Pinnacle enterprise”²⁵ by Howell was most seriously checked. It developed from the Ethiopian Salvation Society recruited by Howell after his release from prison. He set up a commune in a secluded place in the hills near Sligoville, St. Catherine²⁶ and by 1940, “the Gong”, or “Ganguru”, Howell had marooned himself with his devoted lieutenants including “thirteen wives”. Probably due to the ganja cultivation and its illegal trading, the Pinnacle commune seemed to be subsistent with an accumulation of hidden wealth.²⁷ During the process of persecution and escape or release from the authorities, a kind of deification has taken place with regard to Howell’s leadership and personification as Selassie’s prophet or his spirit.

This isolation as a commune in a rather unapproachable location must have been caused partly by the general social background in the country, especially in the large cities and their suburbs. Most literature shows how dreadful the living and working conditions in the 1930s were, particularly from 1932 when the Great Depression struck Jamaica.²⁸ Those “downpressed”²⁹ lower-class masses were suffering under heavy colonial burdens in every aspect of life without any outlet, except the Afro-Jamaican religious and cultural expressions.³⁰ The culmination of the ignited indignation and strain erupted in the late 1930s, climaxing in the islandwide 1938 outcry and upsurge as a part of the workers’ protests not to bear the burdens any more.³¹

Even before this series of outbursts, the lower-class masses had expressed their frustration and opposition against the status quo through religiopoliticised means. Rastafarians have played one of the most significant and effective roles of convoy

for the silenced majority, whose Afro-Jamaicanism in a broad sense had lost its original spirit and effervescence. The Rastafarian cooption of such a lost identity was admirable yet disgusting to the minds of the colonial-oriented upper and middle classes. Hence, incidents such as Rastafarian refusal to pay taxes were dealt with quite severely.³²

After Pinnacle estate was smashed by successive police raids, Howell and the Howellites were removed and scattered, mostly to West Kingston. From the late 1940s through the 1950s, the disordered brethren passed the "reorganization"³³ process through prejudice, aggression, and hatred from society. During this period, the conflict between the Rastafarians and the general society was not so harsh. Although there were verbal attacks, no serious physical violence was involved. The more bloody incidents were yet to come.

3. THE EXPANSION OF THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

The formation of renewed groups among the West Kingston brethren seemed to be visible³⁴ as a part of the reorganisation process. Within a decade, the Rastafarian movement spread islandwide as membership increased. The name Rastafarian became infamous throughout the island. The 1950s showed expansion in the scale under historic impetus for the Rastafarian movement. These drives were (1) the visit from the Ethiopian World Federation, founded in 1937 in New York and branched in 1938 to Jamaica and the land grant (500 hectares) in Ethiopia by the Emperor Selassie himself in 1955; (2) "Prince" Edward "Immanuel" (Emanuel)'s³⁵ large Universal Convention held in West Kingston in 1968; (3) "Rev." Claudius Henry's African Reformed Church; the distribution of cards as "passports" and the unfulfilled repatriation in 1959.

The Ethiopian World Federation Inc.,³⁶ which was regarded as a counterpart of Ethiopianism in New York aside from Garveyism (and the Universal Negro Improvement Association), sent a leading figure called Mrs. Mayame (or Mamie) Richardson to Jamaica to give a message to the enterprise that inspired a more concrete Ethiopian repatriation than ever, accompanied by the land grant.³⁷ This kindled more promise of repatriation than before. Still more, the general social background of this period coincided with the mass exodus to England for job opportunities (cf. TABLE 3). It was natural for Rastafarians also, who were eager to "go back to Ethiopia/Africa", to set themselves ready, waiting for the promised ships from Addis Ababa.³⁸

[TABLE 3]

Number of Jamaican Emigrants to England, 1953 to 1961

Year	No. of Emigrants to Eng.	Total Population*
1943		1,237,000
1953	2,159**	1,609,800
1954	8,039**	
1955	17,055**	
1956	17,000	
1957	13,087	
1958	9,992	
1959	12,796	
1960	32,060	
1961	39,000	
1970		1,854,300

N.B. The figures of the years 1956–61 are taken from *The Gleaner Geography and History of Jamaica* (Revised) (Kingston: The Gleaner Co., Ltd., 1973), pp. 80–83. The source of the figures is not specified. The 1961 figure is more than 39,000, to be exact.

The 1960 figures show nearly 2% of the total population left Jamaica for an emigration purpose.

* The census was taken in 1943, 1960, and 1970.

** These figures only include those who went to Great Britain to seek job opportunity *permanently*. See Roberts (1958:37, TABLE 4B), “Departures to Seek Permanent Employment, by Sex and Ultimate Destination, 1953–55”. The 1955 figure would be nearly 18,000, which is also mentioned in *ibid.*, p. 1.

In 1958, Prince Emanuel, a charismatic leader, called a Universal Convention which attracted nearly three hundred Rastafarians including women but mostly bearded men from all over the island. This convention, held at the then headquarters,³⁹ Back-O-Wall (Kingston Pen) area, an infamous slum, was to prepare for the coming repatriation to Africa. Through the report by *The Star* (daily evening paper published by the Gleaner Co.), it clarified some of the nature and procedure of their assembly called “Nyabynghi”, or “grounation”, where drumming and chanting, smoking “ganja”, and “reasoning” are characteristic. Some profane dread-

ful and abusive words were hurled at such events. Demystification of their assemblies to a certain degree was in process.

The next year was another sway of hope and disappointment caused by “Rev.” Claudius Henry, who took the self-claimed title, “the Repairer of the Breach”. He was exhorted by visions and verses from Isaiah, 58.⁴⁰ He distributed numerous cards with his message to be used as “passports” for repatriation.⁴¹ This distribution of “passports” culminated in another Rastafarian surge for exodus along with the fame of his African Reformed Church in downtown Kingston.⁴² Even though the prophecy failed in the “decision” day, October 5, 1959, and a large number of repatriationists became discouraged and indignant against him, some core members of the church remained with more strengthened faith and courage, overcoming the seemingly disparaging reality. This is not an unusual event; as some messianic, millenarian, prophetic, or nativistic movements have historically evidenced, failed prophecies can function at least as a revitalisation momentum.⁴³

His name became more known islandwide at the turn of the next decade. The turbulent 1960s opened up with a bloody curtain of Rastafarian episodes. The most notorious was the discovery of ammunition and other arms in the African Reformed Church during a police raid and the subsequent “treason felony”⁴⁴ by Henry and several followers. In addition, Henry’s son, Ronald, and some others organised some guerilla warfare — the Red Hills incident and the Sligoville affair — which resulted in their being sentenced to death by hanging. These events in the first half of the decade, imprinted a mark on the Rastafarians as ominous antisocials and war-makers on the society. The discovery of a letter to Castro together with a “Back-to-Africa” declaration (again with a mention of Castro in it) triggered suspicions of such seditious traitors; for the suspected connection with the nearest communist leader was a potent threat to the British colonial establishment.⁴⁵ The island would attain political independence in two years.⁴⁶

After Rastafarian semipolitical intrusions into the mainstream of society, the subversive activities of the Henrys, both father and son, were more than another wave of shock to the wider society. At that time, the country needed solidarity towards independence. In the meantime, British West Indian intellectualism was embodied as the short-lived West Indian Federation.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, contradictions inherent within the then idealistic scheme as federalism reconciled itself to more realistic insularism. A majority of Jamaicans desired independent, insular development rather than federal interest and integration.

Even independence proved to be a mere change of political names and forms without a substantial alteration of the existing cultural and ideational superstructure. The value system was so predominantly white British that the intellectually mute mass could not have a genuine identity as Jamaicans. Basically, everything British had been modelled. Political independence did not mean cultural independence.

Though efforts were made to create a national feeling and identity, they were given from above. For instance, the national motto, "Out of Many, One People", reflects what most intellectuals perceived and aimed for. However, the motto mainly refers to Jamaica's racial heterogeneity. It is not one of harmony.

The formation of stereotypes of Rastafarians by the prejudiced establishment and its breakthrough were in the so-called University Report in 1960. Had it not been for the prevalent misunderstanding, bias, and ill will towards the Rastafarians in the society, there would not have been created a one-sided stereotype as "dirty", "violent", "outcasts", "law-breakers", "antisocial", "antinational", "ganja-addicts", etc. The outspoken Rastafarians, indignant against such prepossession, urged university (U.C.W.I.) intellectuals to help them correct the untrue image and clarify the reality by academic research. The three outstanding staff—M.G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford—took the initiative and reported their insights in *The Daily Gleaner* in a series after a fortnight's research. This report was also addressed to Premier Norman Manley with several points of recommendation, which stirred the public.

The unexpectedly favourable attitudes in the University Report for the Rastafarians further encouraged arguments on paper. This provided evidence that the majority of the middle class had begun to recognise the Rastafarian affairs as those of Jamaica. A *nationalisation* of Rastafarian problems may be well symbolised in the disputes over the tax-paid repatriation. The public opinion in *The Gleaner* was that it was waste of money and time. Their argument concentrated not only on tax but national identity. Jamaicans did not have to pay out of tax for the minority of self-claimed Africans. In due course of time, a search for national identity stressing the factors of race, colour, and class took root.⁴⁸

Fixed within the matrix of the British colonialism, the vast majority of the population did not or could not understand why Rastafarians had to pose a question of racial identity then and there more than anyone else. In the present time, there is an ambiguous understanding in the wider society as to the Rastafarian quest for Africa. Rastafarians are free to *expatriate* anywhere on the continent of Africa, provided that they would be accepted by a desired country.⁴⁹ Repatriation could occur by their free will, yet not by *national right*.

The Rastafarian claims to Africanism were broadcast to Jamaica via the lower classes, who were never feigning to be anything, but black, unlike higher social strata. Africanism was eventually appreciated by the upper classes and intellectuals. They sought: a strong collective identity as negro Africans to spread among the black diaspora; cultural upliftment of Africanity⁵⁰ more than political or socio-economic development (since the latter should follow the former); recognition and reassessment of the hitherto denied historicity of African civilisation and the presence of tradition including the long-established royal tradition of Ethiopia and

Coptic Christianity; eradication of the imposed prejudice and value system, and reestablishment of the sincere African-based identity derived from the reality of the racial composition of the population, and the reinstallment of pride as descendants of the negro race.

At any rate, the Mission to Africa⁵¹ sponsored by the government was highly esteemed by the Rastafarians. The Mission was urged by the University Report staff, who afforded prestige to the Rastafarians. Apart from those few who repatriated to the Ethiopian land (Sheshemani) granted by Haile Selassie, the Mission was the first occasion to get a glimpse of certain aspects of the reality of Africa under the name of Rastafarian. Even if they were proud of such privileges and opportunities bestowed, it seems to have occurred to them that more progressive approaches to the repatriation should be conceived so as to facilitate it in a larger scale. In this sense, Rastafarianisation/Africanisation of the Jamaican society through cultural as well as other means would have been emphasised and taken into the process.

Meanwhile, the general public were still concentrating on the vicious bloodshed that happened to be caused by Rastafarians. For instance, the 1963 Coral Gardens incident (also called the Holy Thursday Massacre of April) near Montego Bay, the internationally known tourist paradise terrified the wider society, adding another unavoidable stigma to the Rastafarians. The previous efforts and appeals by earnest "true" brethren to reveal their generosity and peace-loving nature through the university research appeared somewhat shattered. As if to retrieve themselves out of unfortunate incidents and stilted rumours, however, their apparent cultural contributions were to be appreciated, particularly through the influence on the birth and development of the first Jamaican popular music.

Another culmination of the Rastafarians' sense of confirmed triumph came with the state visit of H. I. M. Haile Selassie to Jamaica on April 21, 1966.⁵² They were so excited over the fact of seeing the living god with their eyes that the following episodes remain talked about: the climatic change,⁵³ Haile Selassie's tears,⁵⁴ the Rastafarians' control over the huge greeting crowds on his arrival at the Palisadoes Airport,⁵⁵ the Rastafarian welcome music and dancing,⁵⁶ and the gala reception ceremony where some leading Rastafarians were invited.⁵⁷

4. THE DIVERSIFICATION OF THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

The wave of the Rastafarian movement provided further energy for development both internally and externally. The external development here means Jamaicanisation. In addition, Jamaicanisation process debunked latent social problems inherent in the general colonised societies. As the involvement of the Rastafarians with the wider society increased, the public gained more information and witness about

the Rastafarians. Yet still, it was a time of widespread public inability to distinguish between the Rastafarians and the rudies. This interaction between rudies and true Rastafarians further created more native cultural expressions and display of power, and appealed as well as annoyed the wider society.

Meanwhile, the living conditions of the lower class disclosed afresh the gap between the haves and the have-nots. The disparity was peculiarly noticed among the adolescent generation. There was a spreading trend of Rastafarianisation among them. In many societies, youth experiences a quest for an identity. Most of the youth in Jamaica had lost positive and meaningful outlets for their alienation from themselves and their society. They became symbols of protest. They knew what the seemingly developing society had to sacrifice for the sake of prosperity that Jamaica was heading for. They themselves were the part of the living sacrifice.

Therefore, in the so-called Rodney Affair of October 1968, a large mob burnt and destroyed public utilities, resulting in skirmishes between protesters and dispatched police army.⁵⁸ The incidents happened as a protest against the extreme conservatism of the Jamaican government, which had exiled from Jamaica Walter Rodney, a Guyanese historian.⁵⁹ He appeared too radical and dedicated to the awakening of the black consciousness from the bottom of the society. Though a lecturer at the university, where he introduced an African history course for the first time in the U. W. I. curriculum, he did not remain on campus. His energy and commitment to the black power movement pushed him into the illiterate mass of the Kingston slums. His open education, grounding, was so successful that the government had to check him.

The black power movement in Jamaica would neither have developed nor appealed to the general public without the Rastafarians. The Rastafarian movement, degraded by the establishment, had contributed to the awakening of the "Afro"-ism of even the middle-class consciousness that was more open to external intellectualism than to the native and semireligious movement.

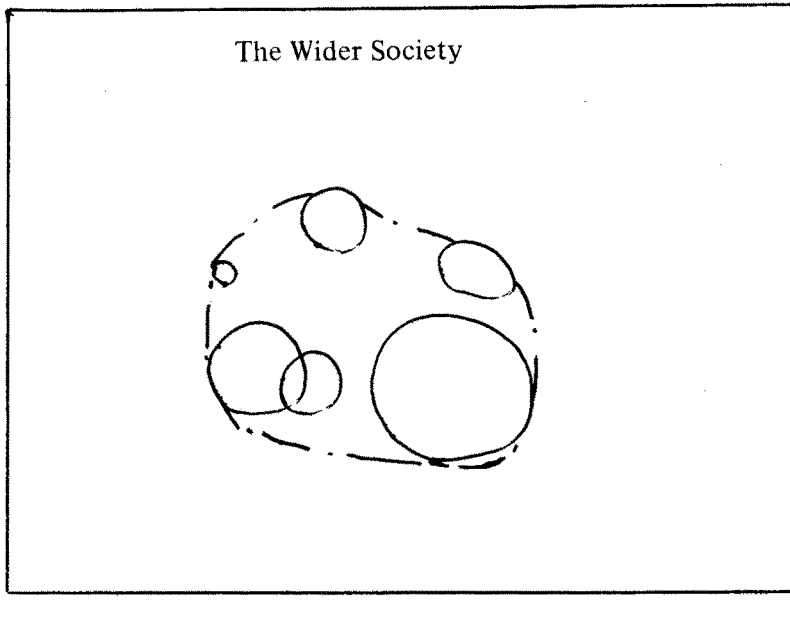
The process of group formation, development and decline is usually in the state of flux. The internal development of the Rastafarian movement is characterised as diversification and segmentation but not fragmentation. Though unanimous in the fundamental principles, it allowed individual interpretation, free attachment and attitude. When differences arose, Rastafarians separated according to what they believed. Thus a number of groups, each with some individual characteristics, were physically formed and grew in a different setting and atmosphere. Sometimes they had controversies and even quarrels as regards a Biblical interpretation and principles. Generally, however, the tolerance towards an inspirational message and revelation of each Rastafarian has been basically maintained. Mutual understanding, respect, and love had been emphasised in order to consolidate their fellowship and faith, particularly during the persecution period.

As a collective movement, the Rastafarian movement can be described as acephalous (DIAGRAM II). Yet, there have been leaders within their groupings (DIAGRAM III). Each relatively large group has a central figure who sometimes becomes equivalent to a "god" within his group. This tends to happen among so-called "religious" groups.⁶⁰ With a charismatic leader in a small group, a Rastafarian association or organisation liberated an individual from a feeling of bondage and enabled him to associate freely with any larger or smaller group or become independent (DIAGRAM IV).

This is the very reason why the Rastafarian movement as a whole cannot be organised as one monolithic political, religious, or cultural organisation. So when Samuel Elisha Brown, a prominent Rastafarian political leader, ran as a candidate at the general election in 1968, he could not get substantial support from the majority of the Rastafarian brethren. As a leaderless movement, each enclave group has functioned centripetally. This also suggests that each group exercised centrifugal forces once some incongruity occurs within the movement without an effective element to centralise the Rastafarians (DIAGRAM V). Unless a leading figure could utilise the communication network within the whole movement, the forces of convergence and diffusion inherent within the movement could malfunction as in Sam Brown's case. Its aftermath has reflected worse: many admit that political involvement was and would be "satanic" because it has caused divisions and stamped a mark of disgrace on the Rastafarian movement.⁶¹

[DIAGRAM II]

The Rastafarian Groups in the Wider Society:
A Rough Horizontal Sketch

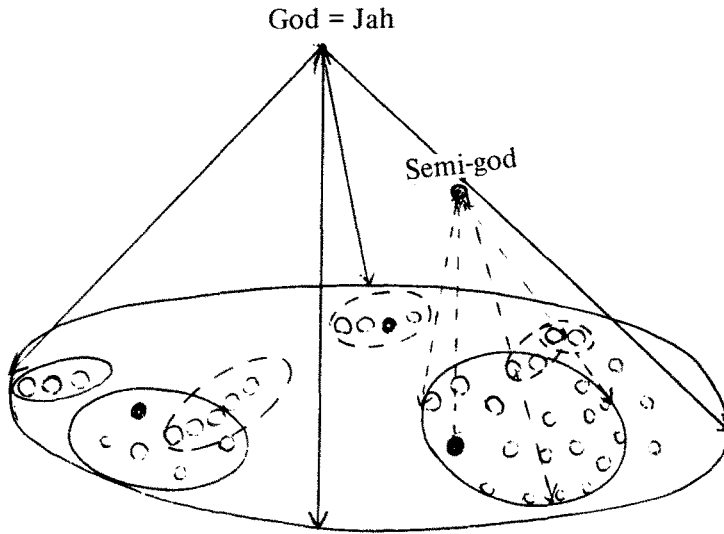


○ A group (voluntary association)
[Size ---- changeable]
[Form --- changeable]

— — — The strap for the linkage of Rastafarians as
a collective movement

[DIAGRAM III]

The Rastafarian Groups and Their God:
A Rough Vertical Sketch

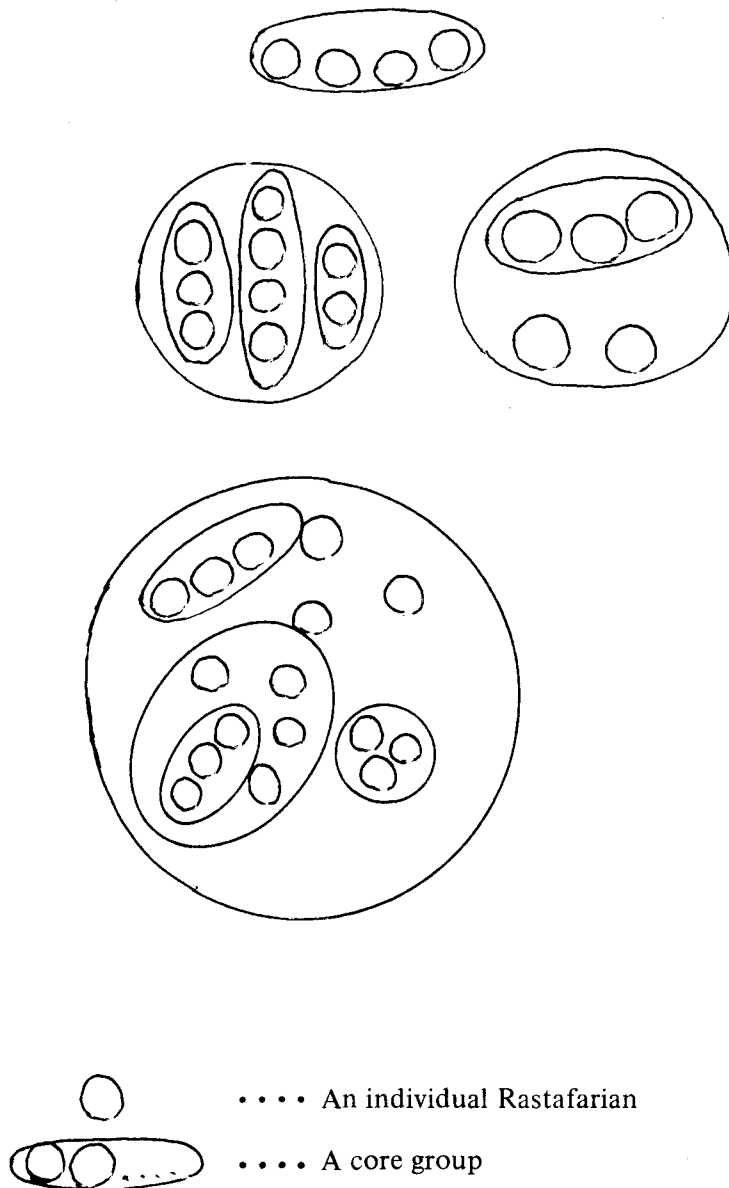


- . . . A leader or his equivalent
- . . . An individual Rastafarian
- . . . A rigid association
- . . . A loose association

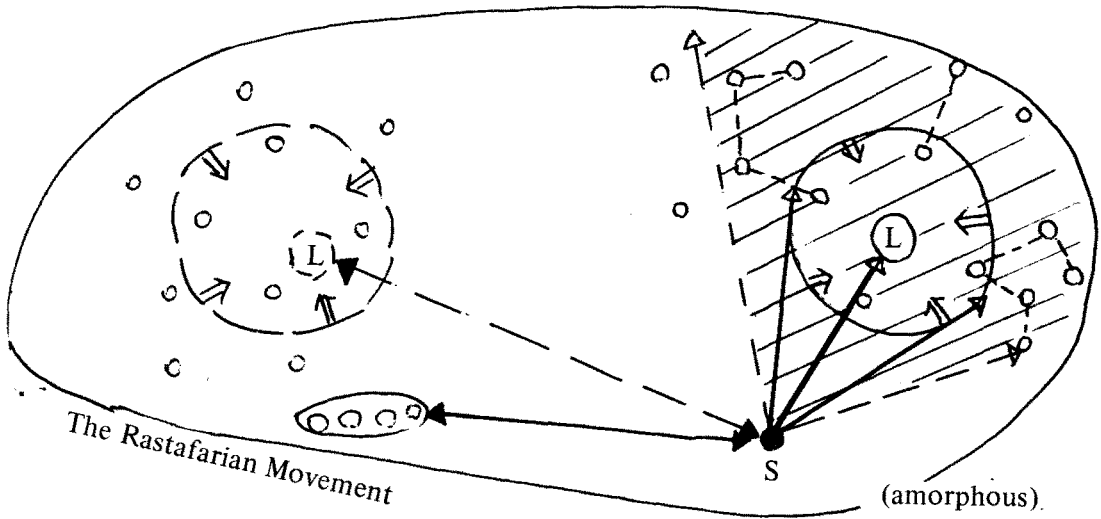
N.B. The more powerful the vertical communication between brethren as individuals and as a group and their God, the more intensified the horizontal sense of oneness prevails.

[DIAGRAM IV]

Rastafarian Groupings: Some Examples



A Network of a Rastafarian's Influence: A Prototypical Example



- 
 ... A leading figure who is to influence
(centralise or organise) the whole movement
- 
 ... An individual
- 
 ... A leader or his equivalent
- 
 ... A group with its hangers-on
- 
 ... A centripetal force (convergence)
- 
 ... Connection
- 
 ... Strong influence
- 
 ... Weak influence
- 
 ... Strong opposing relationship
- 
 ... Weak opposing relationship
- 
 ... A sphere of (S)'s influence

5. THE CONTEMPORARY STAGE OF THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

The Rastafarian development as a movement in the past decade seems to be similar to that of the 1960s. Segmentation and diversification from the previous period continued and developed. Each seemed to have gone through more Jamaicanisation while Rastafarianisation of Jamaican culture became appreciated more and more among the general public. As the number of Rastafarians and their sympathisers increased, so did their involvement in the wider society. At least two main aspects of their effects must be discussed here, that is, political and cultural.

First, the political entanglements in both general elections in the 1970s (1972, 1976) expanded and diversified the Rastafarian brethren. Further argument was necessary as to their involvement or noninvolvement in Jamaican politics. The propolitical involvement opinion was represented by the Rev. C. Henry, Jah Lloyd and his Theocratic Government, and the Rastafari Movement Association (R.M.A.) (whose leading figures are such as Ras Historian (or "History" or "Tory") and Mr. DeSilva). These groups of Rastafarians justify the politicisation of the whole Rastafarian movement through sporadically published journals (such as the *Rasta Voice* by the R.M.A.) and leaflets. Their concerns are focussed on the struggle for liberation of Africa as well as Jamaica, close to a position of the Marxist left in Jamaica. Mr. DeSilva, for instance, is an activist in a trade union contributing to the Jamaican labour movement. These Rastafarians claim that politics, albeit an evil necessity, can provide them with authority and power to improve their living conditions. Thus repatriation is realised in two senses: one is development of African consciousness and cultural transformation in Jamaica (by the Rastafarians), and the other, applicable emigration into the African continent, with required skills to improve the lot of their African counterparts, by professionals and technicians, artisans, and farmers.⁶²

On the other hand, the opinion of prodetachment from "politricks"⁶³ of "Babylon" (Jamaica) has been supported largely by "religious" Rastafarians. Their tendency is depoliticisation of the Rastafarian movement, noninvolvement or non-commitment in the anti-Rastafarian life. Their somewhat extreme puritanism has rendered a change of national identity. Most of them deny the identification with Jamaica because Jamaica is "Babylon", the representative of the corruption under the superficial prosperity and the vanity of civilisation. Their identification is what they call Ethiopian or African, which still disturbs the common sense of the ordinary Jamaicans.

The pros and cons about politics were derived primarily from historical commitments, — because at one time they believed in the realisation of their hopes and faiths by means of Jamaican politics — and their aftermaths as betrayal. These events educated them by providing some clues to the awakening of reality through "reason-

ing” and to the more practical separatism in a psuedopuritanical way of life or maroonage. Politics is an agent of the “Babylonian” establishment.

Above all the important aspects of the Rastafarian involvement in general politics is their musical awakening. Rastafarian-oriented musicians appealed to audiences through their political messages. Politicians, on the other hand, manipulated them by their symbolism and false promise. The 1972 and 1976 general elections were lessons for the Rastafarians. The very significance here is that they let out the disillusionment, frustration and criticism through musical expressions, songs of derision.

As if to respond to the exploitation by the establishment, a large convention was held in 1978 at Caymanus Park (a race course) called by a reputed young radical, Jah Lloyd. His sporadical calls even troubled the officers of the British High Commission, when, accompanied by a few other brethren in 1979, he took down the British flag. He insisted on the continued British culpability for slavery and imperialism. Scars still remained from the victim’s point of view.

Throughout the entire decade, the involvement of the Rastafarians with the wider society meant a development of mediation between the hitherto hidden, hence mysterious and prejudice-provoking, aspects of them and the disclosed reality. Previously growing bias, hatred and persecution were (and still are to a lesser extent) largely induced by ignorance, scandal and rumour. So the 1970s showed a more healthy relationship between the Rastafarian brethren and non-Rastafarians, uncovering the veil of Rastafarian mysticism.

This was most reflected in the increasing appreciation by non-Rastafarians of the cultural awakening of the more open-minded (who might be called secularised or Jamaicanised) Rastafarians. Taking root of black consciousness among the black and brown population is one of their contributions. Revitalisation of hitherto repressed and seemingly moribund African (Afro-Jamaican) tradition in general is a reflection of the precious outcome of the Rastafarian culture. The general public’s image and psychological distance became nearer to what had been proposed substantially by the brethren.

The manifestations of the Rastafarian beliefs and principles have spontaneously surfaced in Jamaican culture. First and foremost, Rastafarians revived drum-centred music and dance. This revival has directed itself towards the harmonious infusion into the local popular stream that has erupted as reggae in the 1970s.

Accompanied by the music-dance, verbal expressions have also struck the ears of the ordinary population, not only tenets such as “Peace and Love” (most popular Rastafarian song) but the recent⁶⁴ idiosyncrasy of speech patterns and jargon (see APPENDIX A). The latter peculiarity may be characterised as what I here call “I-talism” or “I-tality”. As is described later (particularly in Chapter VI), the concept and expression of “I” and “i-” are very positive self-assertion, a

reflection of rebellion and protest against the hitherto denied Afro collective and individual identity and thus solution to the desired status for their peremptory future.

The I-talism is not merely reflected in the verbalism but also in the life-style itself. In this context, for example, what a great majority of Rastafarians (are supposed to) eat is called “ital food” or “ital dish”. Their culinary art is based on their Biblical interpretation and “back-to-nature”-ism.⁶⁵ The salt-less taste of “ital” food is contrary to the ordinary Jamaican diet, which is highly seasoned and flavoured. This expresses a Rastafarian rejection of “contaminated” hybridity.

Another growing influence of Rastafarians in ordinary Jamaican life is adoption and emphasis of Ethiopian colours: red, the symbol of blood; gold, the symbol of the sun and wealth; and green, the symbol of grass and land.⁶⁶ This use of colour has recently become prevalent particularly among the youth. It is coincident with the nation’s as well as the youth’s.

As mentioned earlier, the Rastafarian denial of Jamaican identity surfaces here. The rejection of the native country which has been perfidious to them is another side of the Rastafarian advocating of Ethiopian or African identity. As a part of its clarification, many devoted brethren have changed their original names. The newly adopted names are full of symbolic meanings, primarily in the Rastafarian lexicon (see APPENDIX E). They have to cut off the pervasive Eurocentric tradition.

In a broad sense, a protest against the colonial imposition, in the case of Rastafarians, is very positive, for they have created and renamed out of the past. The challenge by demolition of what was unwillingly accepted is not new. However, Rastafarian creativity and nominalism is beyond that. The revival and development of Garvey’s philosophy have some relations with this category. The Rastafarian philosophies were procreated partly by that of Garvey.

The melting of an iron bar between the Rastafarian movement and the wider society in the 1970s shows a certain self-composedness and adolescence of the movement itself passing through the previous turbulences. This seems to have enabled a gradually prevailing collectivism among the younger generation – i.e. the tendency to belong to a larger group, – for this can provide a sense of security, solidarity, and collaboration. On the whole, the 1970s development of the Rastafarian movement manifested its maturation.

NOTES

1. For example, it is said that “some 22,200 people in Kingston alone” refused to be taken into the census in 1970. This is approximately 20% of the Kings-

tonians and 1% of the total population.

On the other hand, a considerable number of Rastafarians are fond of manipulating Biblical figures and answer in such references as “144,000”, “as Abraham’s descendants”, or “as stars in the sky and sands on the shore”.

2. Barrett (1977:2). Some others mention the same number such as in EPICA Task Force (1979:95), quoting O. Smith (1978:47). Another source suggests 75,000. See Davis and Simon (1977:63).
3. Sam Brown (Samuel Elisha Brown) is one of the most famous Rastafarian leaders especially in the political arena, since he offered himself as a candidate for the 1967 general election. This was the only occasion that a Rastafarian, generally known as nonpolitical or antipolitical, ran for the election so far. However minor the acquired votes might be, the impact on the society as well as on the Rastafarian movement in general has become ambivalently controversial. His views were even published in the academic journal *Caribbean Studies* 6 (1), 1966 as “Treatise on the Rastafarian Movement,” in addition to the previous “The Truth about the Rastafarians,” *The Liberator* 3 (9) (Kingston, 1963).
4. De Albuquerque (1977:234). A “political leader” he mentioned could be Sam Brown.
5. Barrett refers to the *Manchester Guardian*, 1960, and Carter and Went (1960:17) gave the same number. These sources seem to me to be identical.
6. As to brief biographical accounts of each man, see M. G. Smith, Augier and Nettleford (1960). This first appeared as a report series on *The Daily Gleaner*.
7. As to Bedwardism, see the following reference: Beckwith (1929), Brooks (1909), Chevannes (1971), Roberts (1975) and Simpson (1956[1954]), as well as the special file on Bedwardism compiled by the Institute of Jamaica.
8. One of the most fabulous prophecies that would become a somewhat despised “joke” is Bedward’s alleged celestial ascension on the last day of December 1920. It was Friday as if to imply a Good Friday image. However, to the great disappointment of a good multitude observing their “Lord’s” final miracle, nothing like that happened. In reality, he “did not prophesy flying from the mango tree,” according to his contemporary followers who pointed out to me the alleged tree (it was not a mango tree but a tall ackee tree next to or in front of the left side of the cathedral), and who complained about the widespread “rumour” and its advertisers headed by the newspapers, which tried to convey the biased (adverse to the Bedwardites and other base Afro-Jamaicanism) sensational information to the then literate. Hence, the headlines of the front pages showed “Bedward Fails to Go Up in the Air – Postponed Flight From

Hour to Hour and is Still at August Town” (*The Daily Gleaner*, January 3, 1921). His image as a “reformer and blasphemer” has been thus perpetuated so much so that whenever people hear Bedward’s name, “dat flying...” comes out automatically with laughter from their mouths together with a famous folk song, “Dip Dem, Bedward”.

(Chorus) Dip dem Bedward, dip dem,
Dip dem in de healin’ stream,
Dip dem Bedward dip dem,
Dip dem fi cure bad feelin’.

Some come from de eas’,
Wid long belly fi de feas’,
Fi go dip eena de healin’ stream,
Some come from de wes’,
Jus’ a perfek pes’,
Fi go dip eena de healin’ stream

(Final chorus) Dip dem sweet but not too deep
Dip dem in de healin’ stream. (Repeat)

9. Many Bedwardites admitted that the he was completely sane and that he himself told them a revelation: that is, he could have been freed but *knew* that he was destined to remain there until the calling would come to him. This is one of the reasons why his followers, though discouraged, were confident in and faithful to him.

The most convenient means for the establishment to deal with such an anti-establishment (in this case anticolonial) rebellion from the largely unemployed grass-roots “proletarian” mass (mixture of both the rural and the urban) was first to crush their bold actions, as was seen in the mobilisation of the high-handed police-army. If this measure would be troublesome and ineffective, as in this movement, a sentence of lunacy was used. This has appeared in Jamaican history in such cases of religious figures or those that involved more grass-roots Afro-Jamaican folk religions including Rastafarianism.

In the case of Rastafarianism, such leaders as Leonard Howell and “Rev.” Claudius Henry passed the same procedures of persecution.

10. Most of the members seem to have been driven from the Baptists and Methodists. They were enticed by Bedward's charismatic leadership, especially by his most famous healings at the Hope River, and also by his provocative and appealing racial messages which were full of mysticism and prophecy.
11. When I attended the Sunday worship service on July 6, 1980, in the cathedral, there were only 26 attendants. According to some leading elders, they have about 40 members presently. (The elders include Mr. Theodore Scurvin, 81 years old, who is now a caretaker of Bedward's house built next to the cathedral). Another church set up near the cathedral, at which Mr. Roman Henry, the secretary, and a deacon Mr. Brown officiate, seems to retain similar characteristics. This means that the present membership is around a hundred at largest.
12. This verse is also a favourite of Rastafarians. In the Revised Standard Version, "... let Ethiopia hasten to stretch out her hands to God."
13. This simple clear-cut allegory threatened the colonial authorities who were sustained mostly by the brown wall (the growing brown middle and upper middle classes) flattering the white wall (the white minority of colonial authorities and expatriates) and intimidating the black wall (the large majority of the black lower classes).
 "The Morant War" is commonly called the Morant Bay rebellion or revolt in 1865. It is another good example of religiopolitical uprisings against the colonial oppression from the bottom. The peasants and labourers, this time with a "brown" courageous Baptist leader, Paul Bogle (now ironically enshrined among the National Heroes).
14. They told me that a large number of the marchers were caught but were told to go back home: therefore, the actual arrestees were few. According to J. V. Roberts, who as a student of the U. W. I. researched Bedwardism, "some 658 members" were arrested and tried referring to the newspapers of the said year (1921). She does not specify which newspapers or the date of the articles. J. Roberts (1975:27).
15. See further, the *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*. Vol. IV, p. 122ff. This part starts with "Mercurii, 18^o die Maii; Anno 21^o Georgii II^{di} Regis, 1748... (May 18").
16. As to Garvey and Garveyism, see the following as major references: Clarke (1971), Cronon (1962 [1955]), Edwards (1967), Garvey (1963, 1968), M. Garvey (1977 [1923]) and Martin (1976).
17. Garvey actually journeyed to Costa Rica, Venezuela, Honduras, Panama and the

United States besides London after his early Kingstonian period of abortive political activities such as mobilising occupational strikes (though he was officially on the side of the employer rather than the employee), and editing a periodical, *Garvey's Watchman*. During these tours in Central America, where West Indian immigrants were in depressed conditions, Garvey, also working himself for a short time, observed and learned what should be done to improve the plight of the New World negroes. Under British colonialism, he had to begin to appeal to the British officials while preaching his ideas to the labourers, the result of which was discouraging him.

18. He stayed in the United States from March 1916 until his deportation to Jamaica, December 1927. After the political involvement in colonial Jamaica until 1935 (seven years' stay in the native land), he "exiled" himself to England until his death in January 1940.

As to the membership of Garveyites, it is difficult to estimate. At the peak of his career, his followers were said to be between four to six million. Even in the early 1920s, nearly a million membership was remembered.

His major activities in Jamaica include the foundation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) in 1914 before he left Jamaica to the United States. After his arrival back home as the established "orator, leader and philosopher", he held conventions passing several resolutions for concrete schemes such as the construction of a school (one of his visions was to educate the mass); founding of a People's Political Party in 1929 for the purpose of involvement in the colonial politics (the Legislative Council) and to campaign for a seat the next year; (though he was defeated heavily); the distribution of his monthly magazine, *The Blackman*, and a new publication of *The New Jamaica*; more local political activities through the membership of the Kingston-St. Andrew Corporation; forming of Workers' and Labourers' Association; and various protests even during his imprisonment (1929).

His activities in the United States began with establishing branches of the U.N.I.A., through which most of his reputed energy and devotion were focussed, and with which his ideas materialised. Within three years, thirty branches with about two million membership were organised enough to be counted. In addition to the lecture tours both in the country and in the West Indies and Central America (1921), the major influential and fruitful accomplishment (despite some miscarried results from a short-term point of view) were as follows: the publication of *The New World* (a weekly paper), the establishment of Liberty Halls for the headquarters of the U.N.I.A., the enterprise of the Black Star Line (a steamship company), the building of the Negro Factories Corporation and its cooperative enterprises, the four large U.N.I.A. conventions (in August 1920,

1921, 1922 and 1924), which bore a lot of significant programmes. After the infamous bankruptcy of the Black Star Line, another steamship company, the Black Cross Navigation & Trading Company was formed so as to pursue the realisation of his most important and effective idea of “(Go) Back to Africa” movement. Even “colonisation” plans (resettlement to Liberia) were settled and launched to a certain degree.

19. This is one of the great visionary programmes Garvey proclaimed. However, the partial (or more exactly, crushed) materialisation of this scheme can be seen through: the Black Star Line; the provisional government of Africa; the proclaimed (through “election”) presidency; the national flag coloured black, red and green symbolising the race, blood (lineage) and hope; the “Universal Ethiopian Anthem” (for “the Negro race”); the bodies of African Legions and Black Cross Nurses; and the splendid parading... All were proposed and ventured through the U.N.I.A. This “Back to Africa” movement is adopted and re-claimed by Rastafarian movement.

20. Garvey was greatly inspired by Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Institute. He thought that practicality must precede mere ideological scholarship in order to advance the negro race collectively in the predicament of the New World situation, because he knew that Africa (such as Egypt, Ethiopia and Timbuktu) once enjoyed the glory of “civilisation” with far more refined culture than that of what he called the “savages”, “cannibals” of uncivilised Europe. See Garvey (1979 [1923]:54ff).

As regards Garvey’s so-called practicalism, it became a target of heated controversies or negation from the more politically leftist (not necessarily radical) intellectual rival, W. E. B. Du Bois (who was called a “hater of dark people”) and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N.A.A.C.P.). On this “conflict” between the two, see Rundnick (1969).

21. Ethiopia to Garvey as well as to most Rastafarians is an inspiring concept and symbol rather than an actual country. Garvey’s information and knowledge of Ethiopia and Africa in general were revealed from the Bible. This does not suggest his lack of “intellectual” scholarship, but implies that his leadership was more charismatic (as if he were a Biblical prophet) than political. Though he did not go to Africa himself, he did have a broad understanding of Africa. He announced a glorious past of the African civilisations that even Europe envied. He attributed the excellency of the negro race hitherto succumbing to inferior positions, to the historical accident of European conquests of territory and lettered scholarship.

As to his concept of God and Christianity, see especially the sections of

“Christianity” (in Chapter II), “Purpose of Creation”, “God as a War Lord”, “The Image of God” (Chapter III), “Examples of White Christian Control of Africa” (Chapter IV), “Christmas Message” and “Easter Sermon” (Chapter V), all in Garvey (1977 [1923]), and sections related to the African Orthodox Church.

22. Some Bedwardites evidenced that Garvey and Bedward were “friends”, suggesting that both were known to each other. However, more inquiry is necessary to know whether this is true or not.

23. The lion is regarded as the symbol of national animal of Ethiopia.

24. Simpson (1955). Cf. From the early years of the 1930s, Howell was known to have proposed the following claims:

- (1) hatred for the White race
- (2) the complete superiority of the Black race
- (3) revenge on Whites for their wickedness
- (4) the negation, persecution, and humiliation of the government and legal bodies of Jamaica
- (5) preparation to go back to Africa
- (6) acknowledging Emperor Haile Selassie as the Supreme Being and only ruler of Black people

These ideas did not change drastically for years, according to Barrett. See Barrett (1977:85). This seems to have been quoted from the editor’s summary of Howell’s philosophy in *The Sunday Guardian* (Kingston), May 1, 1960.

25. Detailed information as to this, follow *The Daily Gleaner*, July and August 1941.

26. After the police raid, followed by the crush of the camp and members’ arrest in 1954, this Pinnacle commune was eventually abandoned. Now only the remnants of the used daily necessities (some burnt or rusted tins and bottles, torn clothing, cooking utensils (plastic bowls, etc.), broken fences, etc. are seen beside the deserted tractor in a spacious area. Here and there, some evidence of small barracks are piled near some fruit trees such as nesberry, which provide evidence of human existence. From our observation, however, the abandoned materials there were not more than twenty years old. (Our visit occurred in July 1980.) Some neighbours said that the place was used by Rastafarians, probably about five years before. This information was further backed by the present followers of Howell, all of whom were removed from “the front Pinnacle” to the present space not so far away. The present place, also called “Pinnacle” by them, was fenced with a wooden gate. Visitors (though outsiders are *not* welcome in general) have to pass through tall bushes and a stream in order

to meet Howell and Howellites. Very regrettably, Howell does not want to meet any outsider who would inquire about his personal history or seek an interview. I did (happen to) meet him and could converse with him and ask some questions. Because of a series of harassments and raids by police and others, he seems to have lost a general trust in others; therefore, he tries to hide himself or behave rather timidly and eccentrically. (He was most friendly, even telling me about his voyage to Nagasaki, one of the largest trading posts and ports in Japan, where he made "beautiful wives".) His *entourage*, most of them over fifty years old, explained that they had moved with some hundred collaborators to the present location, where they say they are subsistent. The alleged ganja cultivation and trading could not be touched upon during the interviews.

27. It has spread a rumour that Howell has put aside some considerable amount of money gained from the illegal trading. When I visited him, I was impressed by the number "\$100,000,000"[sic] on the wall behind the door of Howell's house. So as not to arouse any suspicion, I could not, however, inquire about the number.
28. "The urban proletariat could not, like peasants, grow food during hard times, they could only 'scuffle' in terrible conditions. Houses in Smith Village (Western Kingston) then, as now, the city's eyesore, were described as '... shacks, none of which could have escaped condemnation in this country [England] even under standards long since abandoned. Conditions almost beyond imagination are accentuated by appalling overcrowding.' These were conditions at their worst, but the average was hardly any better." Thus mentions Carnegie (1973:23), citing the famous Royal Commission Report, p. 175. In addition, natural disasters caused worsening conditions, especially the years 1932 and 1933 by a hurricane and a flood respectively.
29. "Downpress", "downpression" are Rastafarian wordings for "oppress", "oppression". They prefer to use words and phrases so positively that those which may bring up the image of their dark past have been changed into "ital" language. See APPENDIX A for examples.
30. Then and there, Afro-Jamaican religious cultural expressions are considered to have provided the meaningful release from the harsh reality, which could have been interpreted as escape or whatever. Examples of such religiocultural complexes include: Myalism, Revivalism including Pukkumina (often called "Pocomania" with derogatory connotations derived from "little madness"). As to Myalism and Pukkumina, see the followings for major references besides Cassidy (1967, 1971 [1961]): Barrett (1974, 1976), Baxter (1970), Beckwith (1929), Chevannes (1971a, 1971b), Hogg (1964), Moore (1953, 1971), Seaga

(1969), and Simpson (1970).

31. As to the analysis of the disturbances, see particularly Munroe (1972), Post (1969, 1970), G. Lewis (1968), and Carnegie (1973).
32. *The Jamaica Times*, January 6, 1934. This tendency is broadly interpreted as part of Rastafarians' strong objection to politics; thus nonparticipation/commitment has been principled among a considerable number of "religious" brethren. As regards this, there were many skirmishes between the Rastafarians and the authorities. Antagonism between the brethren and the police has been infamous.
33. Barrett characterises "reorganization and adaptation" for the period from 1947 (about when "dreadlocks" brethren came into sight) to the end of the 1950s (Barrett 1968:76). I agree with the "reorganization" process, for the brethren had to regroup on a small scale so as to keep their faith and maintain the commenced movement for the sake of their god, Haile Selassie and the would-be saved black race with the definite hope for the (re)-establishment of the earthly Kingdom of God, True Israel in Ethiopia. However, whether the term "adaptation" was applicable or not seems to be a little dubious. If it means that the brethren *had to adapt* themselves to the new situation, then they probably did because they must survive even for the purpose of continuing the faith (not merely for individual survival).
34. By the time Simpson conducted the first field research in 1953, there existed at least twelve groups with about 20 to 120 members.
35. "Immanuel" signifies "God be with us" in Hebrew. See Isaiah 7:14. Cf. Isaiah 8:8, Matthew 1:23.
36. The Ethiopian (E.W.F.) Inc. was founded under the alleged guidance of H.I.M. Haile Selassie by a Dr. Melaku E. Bayen as a "lobby" for the Ethiopian strife against the Italian aggression. According to the University Report by Smith, *et al.* (1960), the aim of the E.W.F. is to "effect Unity, Solidarity, Liberty, Freedom and Self-determination to secure Justice and maintain the Integrity of Ethiopia, which is [their] divine heritage" for the "Black Peoples of the World". (p. 13.)
37. See the letter from the E.W.F., Inc. to the Executive Committee, Local 31 in Kingston, as quoted in Barrett (1968:78–79).
38. This expectation for ship from Africa is a long tradition. It might have started from the inception of the slave trade. In the twentieth century, Garvey's Black Star Line and the succeeded steamship venture imprinted the early Rastafarians with the image of the ship as a salvation medium. Thus, "Prince Emanuel" and his

followers called “Bobos” firmly believe even now in the period of air (sky) and planes that ships will come from Africa for them. Their camp is presently established on the “hills of Zion” in Bull Bay, where they can look down the sea afar. As to Bobos’ commitment to Garveyism, see the section of “The Expression of Rastafarian Music” (Ch. VI). It may be of some importance to note that a Kumina “queen” Miss Queeny (Mrs. Mckenzie of Sligoville) mentioned similar remarks on the sea-ship-spirit-salvation image during the interview with her and the class of West Indian history from the U.W.I., led by Dr. Edward Kamau Brathwaite on February 1, 1979.

39. The headquarters was named “Coptic Theocratic Temple”, which is not presently known. Probably due to the series of police raids and forced removals, the previous groupings were dissolved first and then other gatherings formed with some change of membership. To illustrate this process, Prince Emanuel’s groups have had to change the location from Ackee Walk to Harris Street in Rose Town in 1968 and then to 8th Street in Trench Town; next, 9th Street, and finally the present community is in Bull Bay 9 Miles. As to the Convention, see further *The Star*, March 6, 1958.
40. “The Repairer of the Breach” was taken directly from Isaiah 58:12: “And your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations; you shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of streets to dwell in.” (R.S.V.) As to Henry and related events, see particularly Chevannes (1976) and the newspaper articles compiled by the Institute of Jamaica on Rastafarians since 1959.
41. The following is the extracted content of the “thousands” of distributed cards:

Pioneering Israel’s scattered children of African Origin “back home to Africa”... 1959, the deadline date – Oct. 5th; this new government is God’s Righteous Kingdom of Everlasting Peace of Earth. ...Holder of this Certificate is requested to visit the Headquarters at 18 Rosalie Avenue... August 1st, 1959, for our Emancipation Jubilee, commencing 9 A.M. sharp... No passport will be necessary for those returning to Africa, etc. We sincerely, “The Seventh Emanuel’s Brethren” gathering Israel’s scattered and anointed prophet, Rev. C.V. Henry, R. B.

Given this 2nd day of March 1959, in the year of the reign of His Imperial Majesty, 1st Emperor of Ethiopia, “God’s Elect” Haile Selassie, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Israel’s Returned Messiah. [Quoted in Barrett 1977:95ff].
42. It no longer exists at that location. However, some neighbours remember those days, telling me about his church and his followers.

43. The process of "revitalization" in this case was slightly different from that of Bedwardism, due to the gradual secularisation of Henry's plans for the future. His Back-to-Africaism or the conception of Africa became more realistic (even to the general public). Since the majority of the population was (and still is) of African ancestry, he came to perceive Jamaica as a part of Africa. Hence no physical repatriation was *the must* any more. His idea of "Kingdom of God", after he was condemned by his previous pastor in the establishment of Church of England, seems to have been more secularised to the extent of earthly kingdom, the reformation of the status quo via a challenge escorted by a revelation to the establishment (including "Church and State").

The common denominator of these "religions of the oppressed", i.e., between Bedwardism and Henry's case, runs as deeply as the difference between the two, namely the tendency to protest and reform. Bedward's strategy of protest (as was presented in the "great marching") was immature, albeit very effective politically for a time being. On the other hand, Henry, himself having overseas experiences (thus observing the wretched conditions of the negro race in the new world), has provided more realistic enterprises for living for the sake of the poor Jamaicans.

Henry, who has been called "Cyrus", God's annointed, the conqueror of kings, and the liberator of the Jews from captivity (Isaiah 44:28, 45 :1-13), has played such a role as "Cyrus" in "the Lepers' Government" to his followers, largely unemployed. His real charismatic leadership should be evaluated not by the political campaigns for the then progressive Peoples National Party (P.N.P.) and Michael Manley (again through inspirational confidence), but by the economic labour provision from 1968, such as bakery, block-making, tradesmen (mason, carpentry, electrician, tiler, etc.), cooks, teachers, farming, etc.

The mere difference of the fact that Bedward is dead (hence Bedwardites have lost a leading figure) and that Henry is still alive does not explain fully the vital dissimilarity between the two as nativistic-cum-messianic-cum-semimillenarian movements. The leaders' contribution to their followers in more secular senses, e.g., in the socioeconomic and cultural and quasipolitical spheres, differed. Henry has wider experiences both within and without Jamaica, hence more understanding of the dire need of socioeconomic base, and its stability was and still is acutely comprehended. Henry's later schemes/enterprises are even more secular and modernised than Howell's "Pinnacle" maroonage. The unfulfilled prophecies in both cases merely disillusioned some disciples; on the other, they promoted further hopes accompanied by some "mysterious" events (to the followers) and even increased the apocalyptic popularity of the leaders. To the nonbelievers and the discouraged, such a leader may be a fraud, and the whole "business", anachronistic. Nevertheless, to the true believers, these events

functioned as purgation; hence, the remaining feel stronger and proud with a sense of the elect.

44. The breach of the Treason Felony Law did not happen in Jamaica for almost a century. See Nettleford (1972:84).

45. The following are extracts from the documents.

(1) [A letter to Castro signed by the twelve members]

...We wish to draw your attention to the conditions which confronts us today as *poor, underprivileged* people which were brought here from Africa by the British slave traders over 400 years ago to serve as slaves. We now desire to *return home in peace*, to live under *our own vine and fig tree*... All *our efforts to have a peaceful repatriation has proven a total failure*.

Hence we must fight a *war* for what is ours *by right*. Therefore, we want to assure your Sir, and your Government that *Jamaica and the rest of the British West Indies will be turned over to you and your Government*, after this war which *we are preparing to start* for Africa's freedom is completed; and we her scattered children are restored. We are getting ready for an *Invasion* on the Jamaican Government therefore we *need your help and personal advice*.

We have the necessary men for the job. Since you cannot know sir without our information, the Black people of Jamaica are with you and your Government one hundred percent and *desire to see Jamaica gets into your hands before we leave for Africa*. (Emphasis is mine.)

(2) [A statement signed by Henry and five others]

...We want to go back to Africa, if not in love then ... *in hate as we were brought here*. If not in peace, ... *in war* ... the Russian leader ... and also ... *Dr. Fidel Castro, who will be the leader of Jamaica, in the very near future*.
...We do not want Jamaica.... (Emphasis is mine.)

N.B. According to Henry himself, the documents were mere fraud plotted by his enemies. He admitted his signature and the discovery of the letters within his church, however, he denied strongly that he wrote them. "I didn't know it was like that. No! It was their trick...."(From my interview with Henry on July 19, 1980.) Though he did not clarify who "they" were, his long story suggested that the whole incident could be an intrigue by some who were in the political arena.

Because of his charismatic leadership and popularity among the lower class in Manchester (his native parish) and Kingston (including Rastafarians), it seems to be quite possible that his personality was manipulated against and in fear of his potential statesmanship, as preacher/campaigner.

Finally he was “betrayed” in the political strife of the next decade.

46. Great Britain released its political reigns over the West Indies beginning with Jamaica and Barbados in 1962.
47. The West Indies Federation was declared officially on February 23, 1958 and lasted until May 31, 1962. Its dissolution was triggered by Jamaica’s withdrawal on September 19, 1961.
48. The Jamaican search for national identity had already sprouted particularly around the late 1950s, when the trend towards the Federation reasonably promoted the internal consolidation (both within the West Indies and Jamaica). Surpassing the wider thus more vague concentration on “federal” affairs, the narrower, and yet very fundamental *island* identity would be developed as a would-be *national* identity in the process of the preparation for her independence.
49. Most African countries presented their desires as to the acceptance of their “brothers” in diaspora (not only of the Rastafarians). Those *immigrants* should contribute to the development (modernisation) of then respective countries in technology, in education, or whatever in a concrete way. Hence, the largely unemployed although not necessarily *unskilled* Rastafarians (in fact, the majority were) would be in no way allowed merely to inspire, proselyte and Rastafarianise Africans with their teachings.
50. This concept is taken from the book with the same title, *Africanity – The Cultural Unity of Black Africa* by Maquet (1972 [1967]). Africanity is the sub-Saharan African cultural unity. “The total intuition of the reality of African life, the analysis of artifacts and institutions, the claims of negritude, the political action of Pan-Africanism converge on the same point....” (p. 8).

[It] is also a conceptual tool that enables us to grasp what the various African civilizations have in common. It is very close to the concept of negritude but different in its orientation. While the essential function of negritude is to affirm a previously alienated cultural personality, Africanity aims at understanding and analysis.

Cultures, civilizations and Africanity represent three levels of generalization, but these concepts express, each in its own way, the richness of the traditions of Black Africa. They are not mutually exclusive, they are complementary. (p. 10).
51. The mission, led and advised by L. C. Leslie (medical practitioner) and V. S. Reid (journalist/writer), visited five countries: Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone. The Rastafarian delegates were Filmore Alvaranga, Douglas Mack, and Mortimer Planner. The others were Westmore Blackwood of the U.N.I.A., M. B. Douglas of the Afro-Caribbean League, Cecil G. Gordon of the E.W.F.,

and Z. M. Scarlett of the Afro-West Indian Welfare League. Two sets of report were published: one is called “Majority Report” by the officials, and the other, “Minority Report” by the Rastafarians. As to the mission, see these reports in *Report of Mission to Africa* printed by the Government Printer, Kingston, 1961.

52. This date is specially celebrated as if it were their *national* holiday.
53. On approaching his arrival, the rain stopped as if to welcome the living god of the Rastafarians, the then Ethiopian Emperor. This “miracle” has signified, at least to the Rastafarians, that the whole heaven discerned the importance of the time and the people.
54. It is reported that he could not but shed the tears moved by the multitude of Rastafarian crowds who worshiped him, hailing his name. This is interpreted by Rastafarians to show Haile Selassie’s deep compassion and love towards his “children” (Rastafarians).
55. A leading Rastafarian, Sam Brown, proceeding towards the emperor, led the jostling welcomers in order so that the stranded Selassie and his suite would be able to step forward among the crowds.
56. There gathered leading musicians and played Rastafarian-beat tunes all day long. Their presentation struck the non-Rastafarians who witnessed them along with their warriorlike dancing.
57. It was quite unusual for any ordinary “cultist” to have a privilege to be invited at a state reception. The Government of Jamaica took a very special arrangement for the then growing and alarming Rastafarians, whose unusual attachment to Haile Selassie could not be ignored. Had it not been for a special concern towards the Rastafarians by the Government on this occasion, they might have caused much trouble during the important visit. His visit was meaningful not only to the Rastafarians but to the amity between the two nations. The Government of Jamaica clearly acknowledged the unique existence and role of Ethiopia and Haile Selassie on the African continent. The Jamaican government began to promote friendly relations with Africa even for the sake of the awakening of conscious connections between Jamaica and Africa in general. See further *The Daily Gleaner*, April 23, and *The Sunday Gleaner*, April 24, 1966. The article “Rasta day come!” by Jay Monroe in *The Sunday Gleaner* (*ibid.*) mentions three “problems” of the Rastafarian movement as to *their* future direction, *their* theology, and as the *Jamaican* (“our”) “cult” that has latent political radicalism.
58. In addition to the daily newspaper articles of that time, see the followings: Nettleford (1972 [1970]), Rodney (1975 [1969]) and D. Williams (1976).

59. He was banned from re-entering Jamaica after attending the Black Writers Conference in Montreal, and not being able to contact his remaining family in Kingston. Protesting such severe treatment and hysteria, some university lecturers and numerous students marched on to the streets, where crowds joined in. This kindled clashes between the claimers of “the land of the living” and their oppressors, arousing a series of events and disturbances both within the campus (e.g., introducing West Indian folk culture programmes in the newly founded Creative Arts Centre on campus and throwing off the traditional gowns for a graduation ceremony) and on the streets (e.g., downtown Kingston became a centre of confusion and riots stirred by the societal search for an outlet of the piled up frustration and dissatisfaction with their daily life). These disturbances were closely linked with the incongruity of class and race. The infamous riots between the Chinese and the black sections in downtown Kingston may be seen as a part of this problem.

60. I use terms such as “religious”, “political” or “cultural” in relation to the function rather than the nature of each group or individual for convenience. One person can have these natures inherent within the self. I even admit that a person can play triple roles on a special occasion. Here, however, I emphasise peculiar tendency with more dominance in its function within the Rastafarian movement and its functional impact on the wider society.

61. The difficulty in organising or centralising Rastafarians as an influential body can be shown in the following. This is particularly so in the case of a political purpose.

I attended a semipolitical gathering on the celebration of African Liberation Day on May 25, 1979 at a headquarters of a subbranch of the U.N.I.A. and the E.W.F., Jamaica Success Club (located at 63 Wildman Street in downtown Kingston). (The Jamaica Success Club itself was founded by a C. J. Brissett on February 2, 1933 for the purpose of “friendly and benevolent” meetings or rallies of the U.N.I.A. and the E.W.F.) The theme was “Africa Jamaica One Struggle”. The leading organisers, represented as the African Liberation Solidarity Committee, expected a large turn out, mostly from the Rastafarian section, for the Rastafarian supporters were Nyabingi Church of Rastafari Theocracy and the Rastafari(an) Movement(s) Association (R.M.A.), prominent “political” groups. The attendance was of some thirty males (mostly youth) and ten to twenty children in the beginning, relatively smaller than expected. As time went on, the number more than doubled. (Still, the participants were predominantly males.) The whole programme was scheduled to solidify a political consciousness of “African” (including Jamaica) liberation and enhance a mutual cooperation in the realisation of the cause. Some cultural presentations were prepared

such as Rastafarian music (drumming and chanting) and poem reading for the promotion of an amicable atmosphere that would strengthen a unity among them. Special messages from Sam Brown and a Zimbabwean “politician” were given. Most of the talks and even poem readings emphasised Marcus Garvey’s contribution to a just cause of uplifting the negro race, hence “Africa”. (There were some members from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, but their messages were secular, more political than religious.) However, even at the climax of the meeting, the spiritual culmination for all the attendants was not felt to be centralised but somewhat diffused. Nor were their minds substantially energised politically, as if a wet blanket was laid somewhere to hinder the calefaction.

62. See further “Majority Report of Mission to Africa,” *Report of Mission to Africa* (1961:1).
63. “Politricks” is from Rastafarian jargon of “politics”. As a result of their involvements in the Jamaican politics and the “betrayed” feeling and consciousness they had afterwards, most of the brethren insist that Rastafarians should not get mixed up with politicians or their machines because they had tricked them.
64. Some informants say that it was from the midsixties when Rastafarians and many rudies, especially youth, began to use unique expressions. I assume that such an expression is probably used for the sake of amusement, rebellion and identity.
65. Originally their hand-to-mouth subsistent living seems to have been born out of necessity. For instance, their vegetarian tendency is related to scarce, expensive animal meat. (Particularly in the last quarter of the past decade, inflation was going on at a “rocket” high speed.) And then came a rationalisation. Their main source of protein is substituted by peas and beans, and to a lesser extent, some fish except shellfish and unscaled fish, etc. There are those who do eat some meat while eating “flesh” especially hogs (pork), the “scavenger of the earth”, is abhorred by many Rastafarians.

Another characteristic of their abstention from salt is regarded, they say, from the Bible, though their quotations are ambiguous. The negative images are derived probably from those passages suggesting barrenness (Job 39:6), destruction (Judges 9:45), uselessness (Genesis 19:26, Proverbs 10:7, Chronicles), and waste (Joshua 15:62), etc. However, they disregard positive symbolism or allegories presented elsewhere. To illustrate, salt is used for taste and antiseptic (Job 6:6), offering in the tabernacle of sanctuary (Leviticus 2:13, Ezekiel 43:24, Chronicles), purification of newborn babies (Ezekiel 16:4), true discipleship and upliftment and purgation of societal morals (Matthew 5:13, Mark 9:50, Luke 14:34), and sound personality and language (Mark 9:50, Colossians 4:6). See *Seisho Jiten* [Dictionary of the Bible] (1972[1961]:291).

However, generally accepted abstention of strong alcohol and cigarettes as well as processed or chemical seasonings, for instance, may be broken according to an individual interpretation.

66. This colour combination is used for the national flag not only of Ethiopia but also of many other African countries like Guinea, Congo, Cameroon, Mali, Ghana, and Zaire. In addition, the colour of Garveyism is red, green and black. Black is, of course, a symbol of race. So there are some who insist on adding black to the Ethiopian colour as the Rastafarian colour. (Cf. The Jamaican flag consists of black, green and gold.) It has become fashionable for Rastafarians and their sympathisers to wear these colour combinations in clothe, in accessories (belts, badges, ribbons, pendants, etc.) and head covers (tams, caps, head-ties, etc.).

CHAPTER II

RASTAFARIAN MUSIC AND ITS ANCESTRAL HERITAGE

A. THE CONTEMPORARY JAMAICAN MUSIC SCENE

Music is a mirror of society. This is especially true of popular music, where music has often changed, voluntarily or not, in accordance with changes in preference, interest, aesthetics, and attitude. This social reflection of popular music has a great deal to do with the Jamaican characteristic love of music, and can be described as follows: "Jamaicans feel music inna dem bones [in the bones]; when we hear music it bite us under de skin" (Sewell 1979:43). Jamaican music has an indispensable function for the people and society, and this conception of music is one inherited from the African ancestors. Jamaica had a rich musical tradition from the start.¹

It is first necessary to look at the general background of music traditions in contemporary Jamaica in order to place properly Rastafarian Nyabynghi and reggae music. Contemporary Jamaican music may be roughly categorised into three basic genres: classical, pop, and folk. While the first two have their roots in urban society, the last more or less originated in the countryside.

Jamaican classical music developed out of the European "great" tradition of choral music brought to the island in the colonial period (Baxter 1970:ch. 21). At present, there are both classical religious (almost equivalent to Christian)² and secular music. Christian church music, a direct importation from the metropole, has permeated most established churches, such as the Roman Catholic, Anglican, United (Presbyterian and Congregational), Methodist, Moravian, Baptist, Salvation Army, and Seventh Day Adventist churches. The music played during services is orthodox.³ A rare exception is Fr. Ho Lung's St. Thomas Aquinas Church (Roman Catholic) in Kingston where drums and guitar are used featuring original pieces composed in African rhythm by the Father and others, in the Mass. Christian music played in other churches, particularly Pentecostal (Church of God, Disciples of Christ, etc.) and by groups (Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship) may be categorised as "gospel". Such churches often use guitar and a piano. Their music is more dynamic, being more rhythmical and emotional than that in established churches.

Efforts have also been made to develop secular classical music. "Before 1909, many musical organizations had sprung up, and died . . . In 1929, . . . the first orchestra and musical organization in the island to last over a period of years" was established as the Jamaica Symphony Orchestra (Baxter 1970: 326). However,

because it comprised mainly foreigners, it eventually dissolved. Several other associations were organised for performances. The Jamaica Philharmonic is “the solo orchestral organization which exists as an entity outside of performance time” (Baxter 1970:327).

In general, classical music is taught from primary school, though not with good results. A National Youth Orchestra is now training using the Japanese Suzuki method for strings.⁴ But since very few professional classical artists live in Jamaica and rarely perform there, the audiences are usually upper- and middle-class whose lifestyle and cultural orientation lean toward the European “refined” traditions.

A second genre is enjoyed by nearly all segments of the population, regardless of colour, ethnicity, class, or status. In nature and function it is primarily secular, but it is important to note that many reggae lyrics are both explicitly and implicitly religious. Pop music includes not only indigenous Jamaican pop – ska, rocksteady, reggae, rockers and D.J. style – but also Caribbean calypso and Afro-American varieties, such as jazz, blues, and disco. Live performances almost always carry an admission charge.

However, pop music is always available on radio or records or tapes in gathering places: bus terminals, market places, shopping areas, as well as in bars, discos, night-clubs, and dancing spots. Radio programmes are dominated by pop music. Professional pop musicians try to have as many international concerts as possible, as they are an indicator of success. In Jamaica, as elsewhere, pop musicians become cultural heroes. But they are sensitive to local critics, and their popularity may easily slip, should they forget their roots.

Pop music is for listening and dancing, and people respond naturally to it. Passers-by on the street may move their bodies to the beat. Some people carry small radios to listen and dance as they walk. Even on public transportation the music elicits reactions such as humming, foot-tapping, finger movements and head-nodding. Children, especially boys, are quick to respond to the rhythmic music with superb and sinuous sexy movements.

The third genre, folk music, is usually classified into two subcategories of social and religious although it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish them. Nonetheless, I follow Lewin’s classification (Lewin 1970:68). Further, she subdivides the social into work and social.⁵

The religious category comprises:

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) Revival – | (a) Zion | (b) Pukko [“Pukkumina”, “Pocomania”] |
| (2) Kumina | | |
| (3) Rastafarian | | |
| (4) Gumbay | | |

Work music contains:

- (1) Digging
- (2) Sugar boiling
- (3) Picking (cotton, pimento, corn)
- (4) Planting (corn, peas)
- (5) Timber cutting
- (6) Rice beating
- (7) House keeping
- (8) Women's work
- (9) Fishing
- (10) Boat loading

Social music covers:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (1) Dance – | (a) Mento | (b) Bruckins | (c) Tambo |
| | (d) Etu | (e) Jonkunnu | (f) Set dance |
| (2) Play – | (a) Rising play | (b) Singing games | |
| (3) Set up – | (a) Nine Night | (b) Gerreh | (c) Dinky Ninny |
| | (d) Banga | | |
| (4) Love | | | |
| (5) Ballad | | | |
| (6) Nursery | | | |
| (7) Tea meeting | | | |
| (8) Political | | | |
| (9) Rastafarian | | | |
| (10) Nago | | | |
| (11) Maroon | | | |
| (12) Anancy | | | |
| (13) Canterfables | | | |

Most of these types are characterised by a dominant West African flavour and have been supported by black and some mulatto Jamaicans who together form the great majority of the population. Roughly speaking, this group is a mixture of West African (particularly Ashanti, Akan, and to a lesser extent, Congolese, Ibo, Fanti, and Yoruba) and British (English, Scottish, Irish), creolised over a long period of time.

Through the generations, the original folk music has been slowly disappearing from the daily life as in many other parts of the world. Some has survived particularly among the older people. Rastafarian music is a unique exception. Some of

the music, on the one hand, has been researched, revitalised and incorporated into national festivals in competitions [Pictures 13, 18, 19, 20]. These efforts have been for promoting the appreciation of and deepening the understanding of folk music as a vital part of Jamaican cultural heritage and contemporary entertainment.

On the other hand, only a few types of folk music have developed independently to the present day. Most of these seem to have survived only in certain districts and particularly among the older people. Exceptions to this in the religious genre, are Zion Revival and Rastafarian music, and in the social sphere in some children's songs, political songs, mento, Jonkunnu, and Rastafarian music.

These three genres of music have for the most part developed independently of one another. However, traditional folk and modern pop music show more flexibility and creativity than classical music and inspire each other and the community life and national culture.

Identifying folk with traditional and pop with modern, some people may wonder whether folk music and pop music are totally separate. Does modern pop music derive from the folk tradition or is it just a recent phenomenon? The fact is that Jamaican pop music has inherited a great deal from folk music both explicitly and implicitly, and it has also adapted (or imitated?) foreign pop music, mainly from the United States, England and the neighbouring Caribbean islands (especially Trinidad and Tobago). However foreign pop music has been infused into Jamaican music, the people still inevitably feel their forefathers' (African and European) rhythms and melodies.

In Jamaica, the mass and folk orientations with the African influence have been degraded and generally not understood by metropolitan prejudice and cultural control throughout the long creolisation period. Only those who have participated in individual subdivisions of folk music have retained a dying tradition. Over the course of time and modernisation, it seems fair to say that pop music has largely replaced traditional folk music, which however still serves its social role. The young generation is drawn to radio, sound systems, discos, and dances. It is understandable that the more traditional members of society complain about the ignorance, indifference and even scorn youth show towards their own traditions.

Even the pop music which includes the traditional African drum beat was not fully appreciated until recently. Although ska and rock-steady have been exported to industrialised countries since the middle of this century, some Jamaicans, particularly those who have strong international economic connections, looked down upon such local pop music as "bongo music". It was only in the mid-seventies when reggae began to be well-received outside Jamaica that Jamaican audiences developed an appreciation for and an understanding of this musical form (Gayle 1977 and Williams 1976). Thereafter, both inside and outside Jamaica, reggae has been considered *the most famous national music* with tremendous foreign appeal.

Jamaican pop music has shown a great vitality to create and re-create itself, adopting and varying original folk music. The relationship between the two is regarded as open, and borrowing has not been rare. Professional musicians are making a special effort to call on their own memories or make contact with others in the folk tradition in order to infuse the more traditional genre with genuine popular appeal. Similarly, amateur folk musicians do not hesitate to modify their favourite tunes. Hence, it is difficult to form a single representative archetype.

On the recent music scene, this is most evident if we focus on Rastafarian music. Rastafarian music is a blend of both popular Christian hymns and folk songs, as will be discussed in detail later. When inventiveness ceased and a kind of monkey-imitation appeared, the positive-minded Rastafarians attempted to learn from the once discarded tradition that emphasised their so-called African roots. Some even insist that it is only the Rastafarians (their existence, ideas and performances) that broke through the barriers and prejudices against the hitherto unappreciated Afro-flavoured music. The present king of popular music, reggae, without doubt, springs from Rastafarian sources.

Reggae's tremendous impact, both national and international, should be given serious consideration since it comments on a society and its people and carries many precious messages. Reggae has even been well received among non-English-speaking countries though its obvious influence has been rather limited to the United States, the Commonwealth nations, and the non-English-speaking Caribbean.⁶ Yet many other countries have been affected by reggae: Japan, Scandinavian countries, Germany, France, the U.S.S.R., some of these indirectly, at first, through American influence.

So then, what is the secret of its expanding influence? What are the ingredients of its popularity? The reasons why Rastafarian music should be examined, therefore, are based not only on the social importance of the music among Jamaicans⁷ but must also include its influential procreative power messages.

Whenever the Rastafarians gather for a bynghi or session, they use vocals, drums and other percussion. The number and variety of instruments depend on the size, the nature, and the purpose of the gathering and the background of the participants. The music strikes most of the guests and neighbours with its provocative sound and rhythm. The audience is also attracted by familiar Christian hymnal melodies which are easy to memorise. Rastafarian lyrics which are alternately spiritual, peaceful, joyful, aggressive, and militant are also very appealing.

A consensus of opinion is that Rastafarian music is one of the African-oriented roots (or "rootical" or "rootsy" music). This African heritage can be seen in terms of drums and drumming and songs.

B. DRUMS AND DRUMMING

1. AFRICAN (SUB-SAHARAN) CHARACTERISTICS

The drum is one of the most strikingly characteristic instruments in the Sub-Sahara, especially in the Guinea Coast, where the majority of negro slaves were taken from to Jamaica, with regard to variety, sound, rhythm and function. The body of the drum is made of a hollowed tree, an old keg, or clay and string or metal pegs to attach the skin. The skin is goat, sheep or calf. Drums are single-headed or double-headed, of varying size, and shaped like a cylinder, hour-glass, square (like a stool), or congo drum.

Drums are played by hand (fingers and palms), or with sticks, and sometimes with elbows and heels. Some are held under the armpit, sometimes supported by cord from the neck, or they are set in front of the player who might sit, stand, or mount the drum. One drum can be shared by two players. In most cases drums are used in sets, often more than ten at a time, in a set community or in a procession. Drumming is male-dominated.

Basically, when a drum is hit around the centre of the head, a deep sound is produced, while the pitch and tone become higher the closer it is hit to the edges.

The rhythm patterns are very complicated, especially when a number of drums are engaged. Polyrhythmic or cross-rhythmic characteristics are distinct, and mixed with sets of patterns of regular beats, off-beats, syncopation and so forth. The sound and rhythm also vary according to the purpose, as does the structure.

The drum has both religious and social significance. Because of the close relationship between drumming and dancing in these functions, drums are used to set a pace for the dancers. The tremendous intercommunication between drummers and dancers sets the atmosphere for the whole congregation or audience. In ritual ceremonies, drums invoke their ancestral spirits and gods, inviting possession as a meditative means for communication and unification with them.

On secular occasions also, the power to send messages over a great distance is remarkable. The Yoruba's "talking drums" ("Dundun" and "Bata" drums) are very famous owing to the tonal system of the native language. Talking drums (including slit drums) generally comment on social and community affairs publicly and tell a history or philosophy of their own. They are not only used for entertainment but also for education as a form of oral tradition.

Drums are revered and even deified for their magical powers. Sacramental procedure is administered to these drums. They are often protected in a sacred place; prayers and libations are offered to them.

Drummers are also highly respected, and master drummers are almost identified

with gods during the performance. Because of their importance to the community and society, drummers are usually trained from an early age. Sometimes drumming is a hereditary tradition, perhaps for passing power from father to son. Drummers may be selected. Occasionally they are not only trained in their community but are even sent to be indentured in another community where masters are available. There are certain places like Akan society where the trainers' community pays for the training (Nketia 1954). Not only do they require technique and discipline, but also the knowledge of history and other folk tradition, such as proverbs, poetry, drama, and philosophy which are attributes required of drummers.

2. RASTAFARIAN CHARACTERISTICS

Rastafarians use basically three types of drums; the bass, fundeh and repeater (or "peeta"). They are made of wood: bass drums are often made of barrel staves; fundehs and repeaters are usually made of hollowed tree trunks or barrel staves. The trees used are trumpet and coconut trees. Most of the drums have metal pegs to pin the stretched skin from goat (the most popular because of availability), sheep, or calf whose skin is finer when compared with the goat's. Previously, the pelican's pouch (or crop) was used. The Rastafarian self-subsistent way of life and severe socioeconomic circumstances have led them to utilise any suitable and available material that they can find.

The double-headed bass drum, which is the biggest of all (some are as large as the Japanese O-daiko (big drum), and others smaller but deeper), keeps the steady line with the lowest pitch and the deepest tone. It may be either hit with the head facing the player or with the side of the body facing him. A drummer uses a relatively thick stick padded with cloth.

He hits one side of the head flat at the first beat of 4/4, with strong accent, and at the third beat, hits/presses (as if to push) so as to produce a slightly higher note as well as to reduce the resonance, thus $|: \overset{\sim}{\text{f}} \text{ } \} \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \} :|$. Sometimes variation is introduced to excite the whole congregation, such as $|: \overset{\sim}{\text{f}} \text{ } \} \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \} :|$, $|: \text{f} \text{ } \} \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \} :|$, $|: \overset{\sim}{\text{f}} \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \text{f} :|$, or $|: \text{f} \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \text{f} :|$.

The complex variation comes mostly within an interlude between the verses — so much so that the entire atmosphere and vibrations are enhanced, and the player is

expected to produce superb variations or improvisations on the next occasion if the previous improvisation was not good enough. This seems to be applied to the other drummers as well, because a performance is always a communal event.

The one-headed fundeh, about 30cm in diameter, keeps an ostinato pattern as the life line of the whole music. With a higher pitch and tone than the bass, the sound and rhythm are repeated like pulsations of the heart — |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :|.

Hit by both hands in turn, a fundeh drum is placed in front of a player between his legs. On many occasions, music is initiated with the ostinato pattern by fundeh drums. There always seems to be a leading player (or players) initiating a piece of music through observation and perception of coplayers' spirits and moods, and inviting them to join in. Hardly any outstanding variation or improvisation seems to be orthodox since the fundeh has to keep knocking the air of life. Partly because of its nature and relative easiness to play, there can be several players.

The smallest repeater, also one-headed, is about a half the length of the fundeh and a little shorter in diameter. It is the treble instrument that *talks* with a tremendous variation of improvised rhythms and the highest striking pitch by cuts. As it is the most difficult drum to play, on most occasions one master drummer speaks through a repeater. If more than two repeater drums are employed, very complex sounds and rhythms are produced. These polyrhythmic and cross-rhythmic characteristics result in intricate rhythms and harmonies.

Each drummer is supposed to have a keen sense of perception so that he can listen to others and communicate with them. The repeater fundamentally occupies the second and fourth beats, with many ornamentations, meeting with the opposite one-three accentuation by the bass and the fundeh. It is said that only after mastering the fundeh, can one touch the repeater. The greatest master drummer, the late Count Ossie, is said to have become the crowned repeater player after stints of intense beating on an empty up-ended paint tin and a fundeh.

Some example patterns are as follows: |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :|, |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :|, |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :|, |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :|, |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :|, |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :|, |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :|, |: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ :| etc.

As to the teaching-learning process, there is some correlation between the African tradition and the Rastafarian. Most of the Rastafarian drummers are self-taught or begin by imitating the "big men". They learn basic instructions and techniques from the masters or elders. Some sort of "indenture" has been practised among them, though it is not called a part of "African retention". A student and even a mature player will visit other groups which accept excellent players. There one can get technical and spiritual assistance and discipline through observation and practise. In addition to such special visits, ordinary gatherings and bynghis can provide opportunities to borrow or allow improvisation, contributing a hint or an idea.

As regards the importance of drums, drummers and drumming, deification or sanctification is rarely observed among the Rastafarians except some members of specific groups, such as the Ethiopian International Congress and the Theocratic Government.⁸ However, their *conscious* emphasis on the importance of drums and drum culture is no less than the average consciousness among their African counterparts.⁹

Further, in order to signify the communal usage of drums in addition to adding Rastafarian “orthodoxical”—cum—Biblical identification, most drummers paint their drums in “Ethiopian” (red-gold-green) colour and some put on messages or their mottoes. For instance, the bass drum used among the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari shows the following passages in paint:

EVEN ARRON’S BEARD’S: THAT WENT DOWN TO THE SKIRTS OF HIS GARMENTS AS THE DEW OF HERMON, AND AS THE DEW THAT FALLS ON THE MOUNTAIN OF ZION: FOR THERE THE LORD COMMANDED THE BLESSING OF LIFE FOR EVERMORE [sic]

or

BEHOLD HOW GOOD AND HOW PLEASANT it is FOR BRETHREN TO DWELL TOGETHER IN UNITS it is LIKE THE PRECIOUS OINTMENT THAT RAN DOWN UPON THE BEARD [sic]

[Psalms 133; “i” is emphasised.]

Male principle or dominance related to drums from manufacture to performance must be a derivative of African retention. It is observed in nearly all of the bynghis, ordinary gatherings and most of the musical groups. Rasta “sistah” (sisters) dare not try.¹⁰ Recent re-evaluation of drumming and the whole black and African consciousness, however, have broken the solid wall to allow females to enter into the male castle [Pictures 12, 23].¹¹

C. OTHER INSTRUMENTS

Besides the drums, the percussion instruments in the Rastafarian music play a role of accompaniment. However, they are still very important for enhancing drum-oriented rhythms, whose function seems to be similar to that of African percussion. Rastafarian percussive instruments vary according to the size and nature of a gathering and the brethren’s backgrounds: shakkas (shakers), maraccas, graters, scrapers, clappers, cowbells, and to a lesser extent tambourines and some day-to-day gadgets such as gourds, calabashes with seeds or pebbles, poinciana pods with seeds, and bamboo sticks. These instruments are not exclusive to Rastafarian musicians but are used also among folk music players. Thus, in Jamaica, African traditions are mingled with the native. Naturally, there are similarities between Jamaican and African per-

cussive instruments in both kind and role.

String instruments also appear in African music. There is wide variety in the material, shape, number and length of strings, the way they are made and used, and so on. Usually they are accompanied with vocal harmony and percussion instruments to produce chords. On the other hand, there seems to be no distinct trace of traditional string instrument in Jamaica. Relatively popular ones like a banjo and a guitar have been used in more European-inclined folk music as mento and the recent 'pop' music (ska, rock-steady, reggae, and their variations).

Strangely yet understandably, some Rastafarian brethren abhor string instruments. The reasons may be simple. First of all, they have no exact knowledge of African culture except what is inherited by oral tradition. In general, they are seldom aware that string instruments in Africa are next in importance to drums and other percussion instruments. Thus they regard strings as Western, European, not *traditional*, and not *roots*. Besides, only a limited number of Rastafarian brethren can afford to buy a guitar. Their economic sentiment of privation is reflected in rather extreme opinions.

Rastafarians who live in separate communities tend to object to using guitars, for example. Some argue the elimination of the overriding identification between Rastafarian music and reggae, which takes in guitars (with electrics) more dominantly than drums, the symbol of African culture. Reggae is regarded as "Satan" and "sot-back" (drunkard) music, because they think reggae is played merely for profit hypnotising with heavy bass and lead guitar sounds electrically amplified.

Among non-mainstream opinions are those of the "Bobos"¹². Apart from ambiguous "Satanic" reasons, the Bobos quote from the Psalms in which David, one of the most important and popular figures to them, praises with drums, hand-clapping and voices since "man is the first music." Their interpretations deviate from scripture; even the harp David mentions is regarded not as a string instrument but as a drum. Such an opinion shows not only their general ignorance but the self-indulgent interpretation of African culture and the Bible.

Some other fundamental Rastafarians who, if not as extreme as Bobos, also tend to disregard the string instrument for several common reasons. Firstly, the image of the electric guitar is strongly associated with popular well-to-do reggae artists. Secondly, reggae's ostinato patterns, mostly played by guitars, have surpassed in world popularity the Rastafarian ostinato played by drums. Thirdly, it is difficult to classify many of the reggae musicians "Rastafarians" from a fundamentalist point of view. They are said to be imitators and "wolves in sheep's clothes".

The wind instrument, which is also popular in Africa, was apparently not inherited by Jamaican descendants. Bamboo fifes, piccolos, and flutes (usually bamboo), which are used in other folk music like Burru, mento, Jonkunnu, are generally not found in Rastafarian occasions. Now, however, Rastafarian musicians and Rastafari-

an-oriented artists are using brass as a part of accomodation to the process of modernisation.

Probably because percussion instruments are easily obtainable, since Rastafarians are fond of playing them, their use is considered a revitalisation of the African traditions. This, without doubt, is applicable to other folk song traditions which use percussive instruments. Yet, since other string and wind instruments for the most part have not been inherited, is obviously not a pure descendant of the African traditions.

D. SONGS

It is difficult to specify to what extent African traditional vocalisation has survived among Rastafarians. Unlike Western voices which are supposed to be controlled by relaxing the muscles during singing, African vocalisation is far from that. Some opinions express that Caribbean voices are nasal, strained, and penetrating, suggesting the connection with the African voices.

Here I briefly compare some melody, harmony, songstyle, rhythm, and lyrics.

The Africans have different scales though most are generally said to be quite similar to diatonic scales.¹³ The melodic lines, which have wide variety, are characterised by sharper ups and downs with great compass. Rastafarian melodies, on the other hand, are more or less Western and based on diatonic scales. The melodic movement is relatively smooth, and there is a kind of beginning and ending unlike many African melodies. In addition, differences in language patterns (especially intonation) greatly influence those of melodic lines. Many of their songs are borrowed from Christian hymnals like Sankey's (Baptists) or familiar European folk songs with a little creolisation and indigenisation. They tend to be more major than minor. Generally, simple, peaceful, joyful, jolly, and military melodies are favoured.

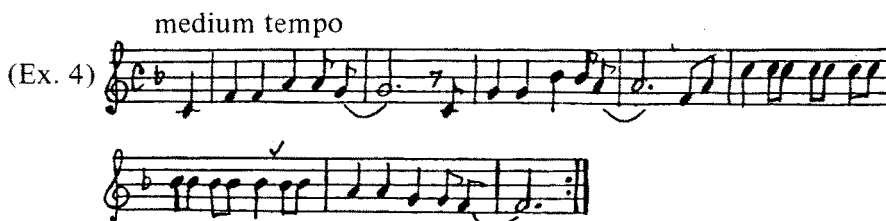
The African harmony may be different from Western parallel chords since the concept, criterion and assessment of tonality are not the same. It must be remembered, however, that parallel thirds and sixths are frequently found in the Guinea Coast and the Congo regions though their parallelism is still unidentical with the Western counterparts. The characteristic polyphony,¹⁴ antiphony, responsory (particularly call-and-response pattern) and round (which are found elsewhere also) help what is African harmony. On the other hand, the Rastafarian harmony (though singing in unison is much more frequent) is based on the Western type plus a small degree of polyphony and call-and-response pattern. They regard the parallel chords as beautiful harmony and cherish them.

I came across some interesting harmonisation fundamentally improvised by participants in moments of ecstasy. The tonal centre note was maintained by a chorus

while an improvisation moved within the parallel thirds like



The “units of structure” (Nketia 1979:14) in Africa are characterised as responsory (call-and-response pattern), antiphony, polyphony, and round. Their leading styles are rather simple and short which can be modified and varied through improvisation and repetition. On the other hand, Rastafarian music seems to identify some of these characteristics. Almost all the popular pieces are repeated often as most of them are simple and short. A-A'-B-A' pattern is usually used.



The length of a piece of music depends on the mood and spirit of the players and audience. If gatherers are musically talented, lots of variations and improvisations

are inserted as a matter of course. Bynghis in general however, tend to lack complicated variations. Climax parts, which a Western composition is supposed to have, are again distinct from African pieces. Rastafarian music, whose superstructure is closer to the Western, seems to reflect this tendency to a certain extent. In addition, Rastafarian music is performed primarily for themselves during the course of repetition and variation. Sometimes someone's variation and another's may harmonise to produce a complex and exquisite beauty of sounds and rhythms. A similarity between African communal music and Jamaican folk music is that Rastafarians may continue this variation indefinitely.

Apart from instrumental rhythms that are predominantly produced by drums and percussions, Rastafarian rhythm patterns on the melody line are not as complex as their African counterparts. Mainly because of strong hymnal influences, Rastafarian singing tends to maintain each note, like a tenuto, especially in their "churchical" songs, while African singing still retains original African styles. In addition, more lively songs have syncopated inclinations.

Whenever individual improvisations enter into chorus, much more complex rhythms may occur. Here, to refer to a generalisation of some characteristics of Black African songs, J. S. Roberts mentions that "the stresses of the sung melody are generally placed between the main beats of the percussion rhythm, though sometimes the melody has a quite different rhythm from the accompaniment, in line with the African liking for cross-rhythms, rhythmic interplay, and the use of differing meters in one piece" (Roberts 1972:9).¹⁶ Furthermore, "hot" rhythms and a great deal of metronomic sense co-exist. Jamaican drum-based folk songs seem to be much closer to these characteristics than Rastafarian songs in this aspect. Interjectory cries and impassioned responsorial phrases during chanting, whether melodised or not, are frequent but changed in Rastafarian neologism; for example, instead of "Amen", "Jah", "Selassie-I", "Rastafar-I", "Nyabyngi", "Babylon", etc. Chanting is always collective, and a solo is impossible. Loudness is favoured in high spirits.

Lyrically, Rastafarians say their songs are more "churchical" than "heartical"/"eart(h)ical", however vague the definitions may be. They believe their music is "natural" and for "ceaseless praises of the glory of God". Hence, these songs are called chants. There is a fairly wide range of chant types, for instance, songs of praise, of faith, of prayer ("benediction"), of hope and longing, of protest, of ridicule and attack. Their "heartical" songs include those of peace and love, and children's songs as well as arranged popular ones whose melodies are borrowed while the lyrics are changed. Rastafarian religiosity has created new songs likewise, and yet borrowing from traditional hymns is very common, substituting some critical words and phrases to fit for themselves.

No complete African language is available to the Rastafarian songs.¹⁷ Despite the passionate Rastafarian emphasis on African traditions and endeavours to promote them, their lyrics are far from retaining things African. And although the content of

at least half the popular lyrics demonstrates their ardent longing for Africa in general, most Rastafarian songs are more or less those of invocation, not of heritage of African survivals.¹⁸

NOTES

1. The indigenous Arawaks could not pass on their tradition because of the genocide by the Spaniards. A few limited sources are available, but further research is needed. Therefore, "the start" here means that of the transplantation of the African slaves to Jamaica. The focus throughout this monograph is on the black masses, the descendants of Africans.
2. In Jamaica there are other established religions such as Hinduism, Judaism, Moslemism(Black Moslemism), and Bahaism. However, they occupy only a small section of the entire population.
3. These churches may practise various types of music in other occasions such as Christmas celebrations which are set out from the service.
4. Information by Lewin through her personal letter to me, Sept. 20, 1982.
5. Baxter's classification mentions three types of religious folk music: "hymn and choruses, songs used particularly for movement in certain types of cult groups, and soul songs . . . which seem to correspond to Gospel singing in the North American setting and also to have some relationship to the American Negro spiritual" (Baxter 1970:187).
6. In the Caribbean region, the CARIFESTA (Caribbean Festival of Arts) 1979 held in Cuba had certain contributions to Rasta-reggae expansion with mutual audio-visual understanding.
7. For instance, see Sewell (1979). Beginning with "the part played by religious music", "songs of ridicule and derision" and "the role of music in the unions" are examined.
8. The E.I.C. distinguishes clearly between the sacred and the profane. Some claimed musical performance was sacred and should be performed in the "holy tabernacle". Drummers beat three drums (one for each type), and seven priests shook shakkas (one for each type), as if to show they really mean "sacred" [Picture 3, 4]. (In the Bible, numbers three and seven are both holy.) Some say that while musical performance is "officially" allowed only during ritual, unused instruments are stored in another "tabernacle". Some members of the Theocratic Government

asserted at one occasion that drums laid on a wooden temporarily built holy platform called “tabernacle” in also a provisional “holy temple” are too holy to be touched or approached [Picture 7]. This kind of statement may be addressed to any non-Rasta or seemingly suspicious non-members or strangers.

9. Local researchers recently have shown a certain amount of awakening toward their own cultural traditions which had been neglected. This is partly due to the regret (even to a point of indignation (?)) by foreign researchers and scholars. They have suggested to restore their dignity as African descendants, for their minds had been influenced and complicated by the metropolitan European value systems. The majority of the Jamaican population, therefore, have become conscious of “African tradition”, and many are now even proud of its retention.
10. When a young woman onlooker from the neighbourhood tried to hit a drum during an intermission of a bynghi, she did not play it continually. She knew drumming was supposed to be done by a Rastaman and probably because it was a bynghi, and as yet she was not a Rasta.
11. It was opened especially by the liberal-minded female pioneers like Marjorie Whyllie and Elenor Wint (the latter seems to have stopped playing nowadays) and also by creative pioneer musicians/educators like Cedric Brooks and other promoters. Nevertheless, it is still felt strange to see female drummers, even though the audiences were appreciative towards them.

Renowned female drummers perform and teach merely for educational and entertainment purposes. Ritual drumming has been taught with some knowledge of its attributes as well as ritual settings and contexts from drum specialists to female musicologists. Presently there seems to be no “secret” pertaining to drums and drumming. Other percussion instruments, on the other hand, may be played by females.
12. Bobos, members of the Ethiopian International Congress, regard all the material and unmaterial things as defiled; therefore money, which most of the members could not and still cannot own easily (unlike middle-class or upper-class people), is especially focussed on. Without money, guitars are unobtainable except as gifts. An electric guitar is among the first to be blamed and banned as it is related to money, reggae and artificiality.
13. For example, they use hemitonic and unhemitonic pentatonic, heptatonic, and the pentachord scales, which can be heard elsewhere (Nketia 1979, Nettl 1965). According to Waterman (1952), diatonic scales are found only in Western *and* African music. The Japanese traditional scale is based on the heptatonic.
14. Nettl mentions two types of polyphony. One is called parallelism, and the

same melodic material is shared by all the vocal parts. The other one is “through the peculiarities of the instruments”. Further see Nettl (1965:133).

15. This type was heard once in a bynghi at one Shaderack’s in Mona, Kingston, on January 6, 1980. I, however, do not think this type of singing is common to other brethren.
16. So far, songs have been focussed upon here because a melody line is chiefly borne by voices. In the case of leading instruments (such as the brass) replacing or accompanying the vocals, which have been seen recently among Rastafarian musical groups especially, the basic framework of these traits seem to be applicable.
17. Allegedly African words like “satta amasa gana” (a title of a hit song recorded first by the Abyssinians) should be dealt in the concept of revitalisation.
18. Further description will be in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER III

THE LOCAL ORIGINS OF RASTAFARIAN MUSIC

In this chapter, the local origins of Rastafarian music¹ are elucidated, since Rastafarian music cannot be explained as a direct retention of African music. How did early Rastafarians *create* their own music strictly for themselves? What kind of music influenced and contributed to the formation of Rastafarian bynghi music? It is not an easy task to investigate this aspect of origin for several reasons. Here are mentioned a few important ones.

For one thing, it is not only the music itself but its role in the society – the nature and function of music or the musicians themselves that are important. Broad knowledge of music itself and social, cultural, religious, and historical context are required. However rich a researcher's scholarship may be, if he or she ignores or lacks familiarity with the social phase of the music, its interlockings in a society, the result of such research may be inconclusive and irrelevant.

Another difficulty for such research is due to the fact that only a small number of researchers and students in the disciplines of musicology and general arts have borne the heavy responsibility for these interesting and important, but toilsome, research topics. Since the recent upsurge of the Afro-Caribbean folk research, the symbol of which is of the African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica founded in 1979, there has been spirited academic exploration into the bushes and the street corners of ethnography.

And none too soon. Folk tradition is moribund, considerably ignored by the young generation. Some of the tradition bearers who have the key to the very history of the country and of the African diaspora are so old that their memories are of doubtful reliability. Hence, comparative work from Africa has proved tremendously fruitful.

Some incidents show that (owing to sudden exposure to the world) these traditionalists altered the facts a little bit to their own satisfaction and for their own benefit. They try to show exactly how the genuine traditions have been treated on the island from the beginning, and now ambiguous and bewildered natives feel that they can honestly appreciate the outsiders' interest and have begun to long for the somewhat decayed traditions and the past.

Finally, for the study of Rastafarian music, there are specific difficulties. At least two types of music, Kumina and Burru, closely resemble that of the Rastafarians and should be dealt with in detail. At the same time, one has to focus on the characteristics of those people who are hard to understand exclusively as musicians. Before touching the core of the relationships between Rastafarian music and Kumina or Burru music, a brief explanation of Kumina and Burru is necessary.²

A. WHAT IS KUMINA?

Kumina (Cumina, *cumuna* or *crumuna*) is an Afro-Jamaican religious-cultural complex based on ancestor worship. To be more specific, it is a West African survival, Congolese, at least in comparison to some other African religiocultural counterparts such as Haitian *vodún* from Dahomey and Cuban *santería* in the West Indies.³ Kumina is said to closely resemble the original Congolese religious culture. The elders, especially the ancestral teacher, *tatimbenji* (*tata mbenze*, *papa bois*, old man of the trees, *ton ton macoute*, etc.) and queen-priestess *ngunza*, still speak some Kikongo languages to the astonishment of West African scholars (Brathwaite 1979:47).⁴ Hence, it is less creolised than others that have mingled with Western Christian culture, such as Pukkumina, Zion, Revival in Jamaica, Shango and Shouters in Trinidad (Shango could be much closer to the first group of Afro-dominated rituals), and Spiritual Baptists in St. Vincent.

Kumina, "the living fragment" (Brathwaite 1979:46) of the Bakongo religious culture, has survived in the parishes of St. Thomas, Portland, St. Andrew-Kingston, St. Catherine, St. Mary (though in a slightly different form from the rest), and Trelawney (which is not well known). Among them, St. Thomas is the most dominant. Kumina is basically a circular religion conceptually in terms of the life-spirit stream, and, more physically, a lifestyle of a community. By means of the spirit possession, a person becomes a god and communicates freely with the ancestor-gods and descendants-gods who are yet to be born. As a mediator, a possessed person sends messages to the mundane world. Invocation and provocation are possible especially by the fast rhythmical drumming and dancing and white rum, which lead to an ecstasy over the sacred.

Unfortunately, Kumina has been dying as an authentic ritual, yet the recent awakening and attempts to retain and revive it have proved fruitful. The social aspects naturally (especially dance-music)⁵ have had more exposure than the ritual aspects particularly through folk singers' performances and festival participants. Needless to say, not only the participants but the audiences have acquired the audio-visual bits of knowledge of the original Kumina [Pictures 11, 13].

Peculiarities in the musical instruments and the rhythm and dance, to say the least, show how to appreciate this "New World Bokongo 'survival'" (Brathwaite 1979:53). The type of drums used and the way they are played are quite different from the ways they are used in other folk traditions. Similarly, the fast tempo and rhythm that seem to provoke excessive pelvic thrust is unique to Kumina music.

The followings are some recorded Kumina songs.

“Yeri Kongo”⁶

O Mudder Margaret bawl kongo
Yeri yeri kongo
Rikita rikita kongo
Yeri yeri kongo
Water wojula wa nkwenda kongo
Yeri yeri kongo
Ye every moan me moan kongo
Yeri yeri kongo
Ye Mudder Margaret bawl kongo
yeri yeri kongo

“Changeni Mbala”⁷

Ye
Changeni mbala
Yabala ndumbe
Koya ko meka nvollo
Konana ngai nga
Moya ko meka nvollo
Yako meka kwenda
Yabala ndombe
Mava ya mela kwenda yande
O e e e e
Nimba wenda
Koyo ko meka nzonge
Zonge nimbala
Yabala ndombe
Koyo ko meka nzange
Ye ko meka kuna yande woya ndombe
Koya ko meka nkwenda

“I Want to Know”⁸

I want to know, I want to know
Who cross da river, I want to know
Only da righteous, righteous for sure,
Only da righteous, forward will go.
Step cross da river one by one
an’ wash your sins away!

Beg yuh one piece o' condi
 Do Maria oh!
 Do Maria mama
 Do Maria oh!
 Tomorro' when dem gawn oh —
 Bodderation da yah!

“condi” = coconut

B. WHAT IS BURRU?

Burru, on the other hand, when compared with Kumina, is now more or less a sociocultural heritage of an African tradition whose origin is difficult to trace. In Jamaica, it has survived in the parishes of St. Catherine and Clarendon.⁹ Those who play Burru music in Spring Village, St. Catherine, only remember being taught by older men players. According to a band leader and the eldest member, Burru has existed “since the emancipation of the slaves (1838)”. Apart from the musical instruments, techniques, songs, and the very basic idea of what Burru is, the descendants do not seem to have inherited the details of its historical background, the origins of the tradition,¹⁰ or its importance in the wider sociocultural context. The recent inheritors’ lack of enthusiasm and inexact memories might have somewhat caused this negligence. At any rate, Burru people merely claim that “Burru is a religion” as mentioned in Frederick Cassidy’s *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (1967).

He refers to Burru primarily as a type of dancing or an occasion for such dancing which includes a kind of “funeral-celebration” dance¹¹ or a type of drum-based music, musicians, or a specific kind of drum.¹² A religious aspect, which was “similar to Kumina in which wild dancing to drums is a prominent feature,” is unclear. He calls it the same as “Pocomania” (Pukkumina) in his *Jamaica Talk* (1971). In addition to the explanation of “religious fanaticism” and “crude religion,” Burru adherents around 1958 were mostly ex-convicts, who were “beat[ing] Kumina drums and us[ing] the Kumina songs and dances but apparently without any real belief in it.”¹³ Another researcher suggested that it could be related to an African fertility cult.

In contradistinction to Kumina, Burru is less known, less researched and therefore, less exposed. Even for the festivals, very few people have promoted Burru band presentations. Surprisingly, some Burru people told me that they were asked to present themselves as a mento¹⁴ band, not as Burru. I do not know who tried to incorporate them into the festival stream so that perhaps a chance of exposure (without doubt they have to *practise* for a competition) might bring them into more light and to a brighter side of a life-theatre. However, Burru musicians themselves

express resentment for such a misleading introduction. Their hope seems to be in giving genuine performance as a Burru band.

The following are some recorded Burru songs.

“Ray Buddy”¹⁵

Buddy waan walk faster, Rey Buddy
Buddy waan little water, Rey Buddy
Rey Buddy.... (Repeat)

“waan” = want

“Bawn Yah Burru”¹⁶

Ketch a little Burru yah, bawn yah Burru
Me say bawn yah Burru
Mek im walk pon right han', bawn yah Burru
(Repeat)
Ketch a little Burru yah, bawn yah Burru
(Repeat)
Mek i' come from right han', bawn yah
Mek i' sing pon right han', bawn yah
Mek i' talk pon right han', bawn yah
Ketch a little Burru yah, bawn Burru (Repeat)
Mek i', talk pon right han', bawn yah Burru
Oh talk Burru, bawn yah Burru (Repeat)
Come mek we talk 'bout Burru boy,
 bawn yah Burru
Mek i' pass pon right han', bawn yah Burru
(Repeat)

“Bawn” = born, “yah” = here,
“ketch” = catch, “me say” = I say,
“mek” = make, “im” = him, “pon” = upon,
“han'” = hand, “mek we” = make us,
“‘bout” = about

“Governa Yu' Wan' Somethin'”¹⁷

Oh (w)hat yu' wan' anythin', Yes, Brown
Governa yu' wan' somethin', Yes, Governa
Governa yu' wan' anythin', Yes, Governa
 “yu'” = you, “wan'” = want,
 “governa” = governor

“(W)hy Uncle Joe”¹⁸

Ah go fe lick ‘im wid de stick
An’ ‘im pick up a half a brick
(W)hy, Uncle Joe (Repeat)

“Ah” = I, “fe” = to, “wid” = with,
“de” = the

“Pupa Worries Upon Mi Now”¹⁹

This brief introduction makes it easier to understand the discussion as to how these two musical traditions influenced early Rastafarians, who had no original music of their own. There is controversy, however, about the local origins of Rastafarian music. Two different opinions exist among the authorities. One is that Rastafarian music links with Kumina and Burru with respect to the instruments used, the rhythmic patterns followed, and, to a certain degree, the participants’ backgrounds. This opinion seems to be shared by some of the staff of the School of Music and others including the art researcher, Verena Reckord. The other opinion, which is supported by the excellent folk singer-folklorist, Olive Lewin, relates Rastafarian music to Burru only and recognises no significant connection with Kumina. In short, the Burru-Rasta linkage is generally accepted, while the Rasta-Kumina connection is controversial.²⁰

C. BURRU-RASTA CONNECTIONS

Burru music which has come to the present is predominantly social. In terms of songs, there are many of praise relating to community happenings as well as arranged traditional and popular songs which adapt these tunes and change the lyrics to fit their ideas and wit. Looking at the songs cited before, it can be seen that songs vary from just a depiction to a more satirical comment. A satire, for instance, was allowed merely because it was a song. If a shop sold stolen goods, a critical song was sung in front of the shop. If a man committed adultery, the affair would be sung about. This type of song can function both as a moral sanction and as entertainment.

This parodical (satirical) trait does not apply exclusively to Burru but also to some other social songs in folk and pop music. Mento, ska, rock-steady, reggae and world-known calypso are the most popular in this respect.

Two mento songs are shown below as reference.

“Your Baggy Got Wet”²¹

Gal, a (h)ow your baggy got wet* (Repeat five times)
Rain no fall, and breeze no blow
So (h)ow your baggy get wet
Mi seh a (h)ow your baggy get wet
Tell me a (h)ow - - - - -

“baggy” = panty, “gal” = girl,
* = how did your panty get wet

“Baba Kill Mi Goat”²²

chorus

Mi seh mi tie mi goat a (line and line)*¹
Mi hear mi goat a bawl (line a line)
And Wen mi go go look*²
Baba kill mi goat
Mi seh a wah yuh do mi goat*³
A wah mek yuh kill mi goat*⁴

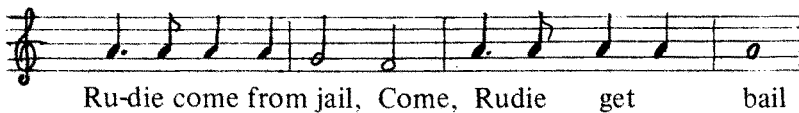
*¹ “Mi seh mi tie mi goat a line = I say I tied
my goat to a line; *² “wen mi go go look” =
when I went to look (“go go” = “a go”?);
*³ “a wah yuh do mi goat” = what did you
do to my goat; *⁴ “a wah mek yuh kill” =
what made (makes) you kill

Other Burru songs such as “What a Way Zuzu Walk Get een Deh”,²³ “Sly Mongoose”²⁴ and “Jack-ass a Jump an’ Bray”²⁵ were sung in St. Catherine. The Clarendon Burru bands had sung “Wheel O, Wheel O?”,²⁶ “John Tom”,²⁷ “Mango Blossom”,²⁸ “Downtown Gal (Dem a Wear Paper Draws)”,²⁹ etc. As can be easily imagined, the present importance is more social than religious, and a temporary distinction, however imprecise, guides a discussion of the religious origin of Burru.

It is true that it is almost impossible to draw a dividing line between the sacred and the secular. It seems possible that Burru might not have lost its religious and ritual functions, if it had been strong. Even though many aspects of a religion can be internalised and outwardly no “religious” mask covers the physique, expressions must have burst out in a personal and/or communal way, when the sacred touches a person or vice versa. Or, due to the nature of internalisation and submergence, a religion can survive as long as it is living within a person. It is difficult to judge only from the lyrics whether a person is religious or not. However, it is reasonable

to conclude that Burru has had more social roles.³⁰

This social function and apparent lack of a religious aspect does help, in turn, to explain why the Rastafarians adopted and adapted Burru music easily. As implied by Cassidy (1967) for the African etymology (Twi *búru* – “filthiness, sluttishness”; Yoruba *buru* – “wicked”), most of the Burru people are said to have been generally known as outcasts, “ne’er-do-wells” and criminals. They were more or less detested by the upper social strata. According to some informants of higher socioeconomic positions, they were told when they were small by their parents not to approach them because “that type of ghetto people” (Burru people) were despised. Burru people used music even when they received ex-convicts and discharged criminals into their community again. Thus a song such as the following was sung: “Rudie come from jail, come Ruddie get bail...” The atmosphere was joyful and cheerful as they danced wildly and shared the fellowship.



Most Rastafarians have been treated in society in almost the same way as Burru people. "Rastas" and "dreads"³¹ since the 1960s have referred to outcasts, outsiders, criminals, ganja-addicts, etc.: they are said to have been accompanied by shrugged shoulders, nasty faces or pointing fingers, sneers, jeers and scorn. Therefore, in terms of class and social stratum, the Rastafarians and the Burru people made good company. Even though both groups of people might have had some mutual animosity and hatred, they have nevertheless communicated with sympathy and empathy.

The internal migration wave started from the early decades of this century especially from the countryside to the urban centre of the country, i.e. Kingston and St. Andrew.³² With the migration, came Burru music. Due to the socioeconomic problems piling up, slum formation was accelerating. Those who could not obtain a chance to dwell in a decent place had to be cast out, to squat in any place where no one bothered them. West Kingston became a most notorious centre, partly filled with shantytowns. Burru people and Rastafarians mingled there and in other infamous slum areas from the early period.³³

One testimony for the relatively amicable relationship between these groups is that Rastafarian music was sometimes accompanied by Burru dancing. No matter how “condemnatory” the connection might be, the type of free and casual meetings did not hinder the birth of Rastafarian music. At first Rastafarians did not have any original music for themselves. They were expecting to have “(h)African”³⁴ music for their own gatherings. On the other hand, Burru people, as is explained before, had lost their original religion. When they came together, a gradual communication started. Some Rastamen were actually enjoying hitting drums accompanied by wild dancing. Several Burru master drummers particularly enticed the gathered company

with their superb skill and dramatic sounds.

The Burru people who had not been attached to any particular church or a sect had room for a unique yet “queer”, promising yet ambiguous religion. They began to listen to the messages, which were full of light to the oppressed and misfortune-stricken black people there. Since most Jamaicans had a basic knowledge of Western Christianity and the Bible, ideas of a coming Christ and a returned messiah were extremely attractive to most people. The incidents and the messages from the predecessors such as Marcus Garvey and Alexander Bedward were still fresh and promising to downtrodden African descendants. As the Rastafarian preachings began to draw followers, Burru people were inspired by the new messages since they did not have an original Burru religion. This little magnet between both groups was the very key to a new music – Rastafarian bynghi music.

So far, I have used “Burru music” without distinguishing between the Clarendon Burru and the St. Catherine Burru [Picture 8]. There are, however, differences that may lead one to disagreements over the usage of generalised “Burru” in relation to the linkages with Rastafarians. The differences lie basically in sociocultural and musical aspects. In summary, the Clarendon Burru music has fewer similarities to Rastafarian music than does the St. Catherine Burru, the latter being more closely related to Rastafarian bynghi music and with the instruments they use.

Another major point is that the Clarendon Burru is accompanied by masqueraders like Jonkonnu (John Canoe).³⁵ Jonkonnu is a creolised celebration with “masked dancing, acting, processions and revelry at Christmas time” (Baxter 1976:219) with little religious atmosphere. The Clarendon Burru has figures more or less of British mummary such as “hobby horse”, reindeer, female figures portrayed solely by males. (This also suggests strong superstructural influences from the British culture.) When Burru masquerading is held, Jonkonnu is not.

The St. Catherine Burru varies in this respect. It is said that there are some bands coupled with masqueraders. However, these cases appear to be rare. Rastafarians, on the other hand, have nothing to do with such a custom. They celebrate in general not only Christmas but also Easter, the birthday of Haile Selassie, his coronation and his visit to Jamaica.³⁶ Rastafarians and St. Catherine Burru do not carry drums in procession; Clarendon Burru does.

A great deal of similarity to Rastafarian bynghi music is observed in the instruments. Burru players have used the same names for the drums (bass, fundeh, and repeater). Also used are percussions like shakkas, graters, bamboo scrapers, gourds, and wind instruments such as bottle saxas (broken bottles over which is stretched a piece of cellophane for blowing), a bamboo fife and a rhumba box. A rhumba box and a bamboo fife do not seem to be used in St. Catherine Burru, nor among Rastafarians. The materials of which drums were made and the techniques by which they were played were adopted by the Rastafarians during the late 1940s.

The difference between the Rastafarian and Burru instruments lies in the fact that the Burru bass drum is almost a half, or less, the size of its Rastafarian counterpart and that at least the Spring Village fundeh is very short (therefore the metal bars were attached to the body of the drum like a stool), and there was almost no difference between the Burru fundeh and the repeater in the diameter.

The Burru base drum in Spring Village, for instance, is nearly 30cm to 35cm in diameter while the Rastafarian bass varies from about 55cm to 92cm. The depth is also about 55cm. The diameter of the Burru fundeh is smaller than the Rastafarian counterpart, which is about 23cm. (No exact length is available now.) The Burru repeater I saw in Spring Village is a little smaller than the fundeh, and it is still smaller than the Rastafarian counterparts [Pictures 8–10]. Apart from a bottle saxa, other instruments were handed down to the Rastafarians.

As far as rhythm is concerned, the St. Catherine and Clarendon Burru are surprisingly different. When compared with the Rastafarian rhythm, St. Catherine Burru rhythm complex sounds quite similar, with a little faster tempo. It is therefore detectable that the St. Catherine musical traits were fused into Rastafarian shapes, since the Clarendon Burru is drastically dissimilar in relation to the rhythm and tempo, hence the total flavour.

As far as melody is concerned, Rastafarian music sounds closer to Burru music than Kumina in the sense that Kumina melodies have more similarities to West African than Burru, and less Western. Rastafarian melodies are relatively Western, partly because they are influenced by the Christian hymnals and partly because Jamaican folk tones tend to be British. The common tonal organisation from some of their songs shows that their terminal tones are not completed ones but suggesting continuation.

Structurally, most of the songs they prefer are comparatively simple, short, and repetitive. The same tonal movements, for example, a phrase, are repeated at least a couple of times, and then followed by slight ad lib changes. The call-and-response pattern frequently appears, and to a lesser extent, the leader-and-chorus refrain. These distinguishing traits which are estimated generally as those of Sub-Saharan Africa again do not exclude other folk music categories. Such characteristics are advantageous for musical functions of casually held socioritual occasions.

Lyrically, Burru songs have scarcely any authentic African languages as Kumina songs. Burru band members I interviewed in Spring Village do not remember any such song; nor did they claim that their elders had taught them songs with African words, though they suggested that older people had retained some knowledge not only on African words but traditions.

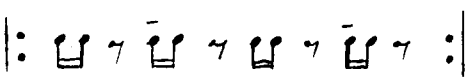
Most of the folk music can be called yard music. A yard in Jamaica, and quite possibly elsewhere in the Caribbean, has very important social functions. A yard is a microcosm of the lower-class people as vividly depicted in the works of E.

Brodber (1975), H. O. Patterson (1974) and R. Mais (1953, 1954).³⁷ Although the social aspect is rarely heard in Rastafarian bynghi music when we compare it with other “sacred” songs, there are social entertainment functions. Yet it is more relevant to say that the social, especially satirical and ridicule-making, traits have been fused into the pop music line, and are now conspicuous.

The Burru social music was apparently attractive to those Rastafarians who were seeking to acquire their cultural identity and their own way of expression to match their ideology. At that time Burru music was known as very African. The proximity in the location of Burru people and Rastafarians seem due to their mutual musical attraction. Thus, it is not strange if they enjoyed themselves with easy-listening Burru melodies instead of a complex stream of sounds in structure as well in rhythm patterns. Here the principle of composing music, even though they were not conscious of it, is effective. During the course of association among themselves, early Rastafarians seem to have learned certain types they loved through elimination and selection without any conscious efforts.

D. KUMINA-RASTA CONNECTIONS

Compared with Burru, Kumina music has had less influence on the Rastafarians. The religious phase of the spirit/god/ancestor worship is totally incongruous with Christian-based Rastafarian beliefs. This is one of the points Olive Lewin emphasises. Acculturation might occur; nevertheless, “people are more likely to absorb things they admire.”³⁸

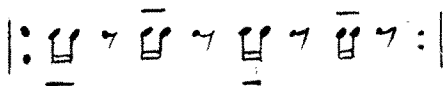
It is true that the basic rhythm pattern 

is close to the Rastafarian fundeh ostinato, whose tempo is much slower than the former. But, it is not safe to conclude direct influence based only on this similarity in rhythm, since this same pattern is also found in other music, such as Scottish folk music. Lewin’s prudent assessment of this point should be borne in mind.

Drums themselves are also different. In Kumina, they use only two types called the “kbandu” or “banda” and the “playing cast” or “cyas”.³⁹ The kbandu is a little larger in size and lower in pitch than the playing cast. Laid flat on the ground, the drums are mounted by players who hit them with their hands. Such a position of drummers is not seen among the Rastafarians nor in the Burru music.

A kbandu drummer who keeps the ostinato pattern employs his heel in order to raise the pitch. This point is emphasised by the proponents of the Rasta-Kumina connection. The reason for this is that this technique produces the proximity of rhythm and pitch with the combined pattern of the bass drum and the fundeh of the Rastafarians. The accents are placed on the first and the third beats.

(high)

Kbandu : 

(low)

Burru
Bass : 

Rastafarian
Bass : 

Cf. V. Reckord (1977:8).

In addition, the playing cast plays the role of the Rastafarian repeater in a similar pitch though cuts were developed differently.

Other similarities of instruments include scrapers (or graters), shakkas (shakers), gourds or tin can rattles, and “catta sticks” which are played by someone tapping the open end of a drum behind the drummer, and a bamboo stamping tube (Institute of Jamaica 1976:6–7). Most of the folk musicians usually make the best use of the immediate materials at hand.

Lyrically, it seems entirely irrelevant to connect the local origins of the Kumina songs with the Rastafarian. However, indirect influence from Kumina may be mentioned. The religious content, connections and associations with Africa and African ancestors have some common denominators in a broad sense, for one of their stirring proponents is African identity (see further, Chapter VI).

Finally, it should be noted that the originator of Rastafarian drumming, the late Mr. Oswald Williams, known worldwide as (the) Count Ossie, was conscious of Kumina, as he was born in St. Thomas, the most influential parish of Kumina.

Both [Rastafarian and Burru] groups shunned the Pukkumina (Pocomania, Poco), Revivalist and Kumina groups which operated in the same social niche of West Kingston. Count Ossie says that these three religious groups were nonetheless *respected* “because they are of African tradition... They have their *rightful* function still, but through (because) [*sic*] they deal in the dead, and spirits and things like that, which really is contrary to Rastafarianism and the consciousness we’re trying to develop, we just didn’t find their music appealing enough”.

(Reckord [1977:8]. Italics are mine.)

Hence it is safe to comment that an induction of subconscious inspiration and musical orientation might have taken place and increased his creativity though Lewin denies this and attributes Ossie’s drumming solely to his authentic depth of philosophy and soul.

NOTES

1. Here I mean Rastafarian Nyabynghi music, not the present popular fashion diction of what they call “Rasta music”, i.e. ska—rock-steady—reggae music.
2. It is not my intention to discuss Kumina and Burru per se. Further research is necessary.
3. A similar counterpart is found as *candomblé* in the eastern Brazil. As to the detailed information on Kumina, the following written materials were referred to: Barrett (1974, 1976), Baxter (1970), Beckwith (1929), Brathwaite (1979), Chevannes (1972), Institute of Jamaica (1976), Moore (1953, 1971), Seaga (1969), Simpson (1970), Warner-Lewis (1977).
4. “*Benze* is a clan; *tata* means father. ‘Tatimbeenj’ (*Tata m’beenze*) means: ‘I belong to the clan *benze*’. *Benze* is actually the first name of this clan, whose totem or symbol is the basket. Note that Miss Queenie [a Kumina priestess/queen] says ‘*he juss go rounn wid him bawsket*’. The Kikongo word for basket is *kutu* (similar to the *Ton Ton Macoute* in Haiti: the man with the basket,... the soul of the children of the clan. The *tatimbeenj* is therefore an ancestor and a person of religious importance. According to Turner (*The drums of affliction* [sic], pp. 30, 31), among the Ndembu of Zambia (a people culturally connected with the Mukongo) diviners carry with them, and use for purposes of divination, ‘a round flat open basket (*lwalu*), of the type used by women to winnow millet...’ and that the ‘diviner is believed to be possessed by the spirit of a diviner-ancestor, in a particular manifestation known as *Kayong’u* (or) *kambanji*’.”
(Brathwaite 1979:53–54). Square brackets are mine.
5. According to a Kumina Queen (Miss Queenie), “... a’ start dance kumina...” (*ibid.*: 51) suggesting that the word “kumina” itself refers to the dance.
6. Warner-Lewis (1977:67). The translation by an African scholar, Fu-Kiau K. Kia Bunseki-Lumanisa is as follows:

Mother Margaret
that was [*yeri*] our Congo
rebuild, rebuild [*rikkita, rikkita*]
that was the Congo
send to our homes
that was the Congo
where are the children [*mwona*] of our tribe [*ovili*]
that was the Congo

oh weep for the Congo
our lost Congo

Another version/transcription of the same song was written by Brathwaite as follows :
(p. 50)

Ooo Mudder Margret
gba kongo yeri
yeri kongo
rikkita rikkita
kongo yeri
yeri kongo
Wata woyula wa nkwenda
yeri kongo
yeri kongo
wo ovili m'mwon'
kongo yeri
yeri kongo
ye m'merrima
gba kongo yeri
yeri kongo

7. Warner-Lewis, *ibid.* See Brathwaite's (*ibid.*) version also.

Ye
changeli mbala yabala mdumba
koya kus mdumba
koya kom ka n'volo
kona n'yai koya kom me ka n'volo
ya kum ye k'kyere yabala udumba
maya ya mela k'yende m'yande
ooo aaaai eeeee
nima wenda koyo m'pe n'zonge
zonge nmbala yabula ndombe koya ke meka n'zonge
yeke meka kuma yende woia ndombe
koya ko meka nkwela

There is no interpretation of this song in the texts.

8. This is taken from the LP record, *Traditional Songs of the Caribbean* by the

singers of the National Dance Theatre Company of Jamaica (Inter-American Musical Editions, Washington, D.C., 1979).

9. It was also known in Kingston in the 1940s (at least early 1940s), according to Cassidy and LePage (1967).
10. Otherwise it becomes unclear to what extent it can be referred to as a tradition.
11. Burru dancing is ascribed to such traits as “sometimes vulgar”, “indecent, with posturing of the hip”, “common-place”, “rustic”, “hot and wild”, “rough, not (proper)...”, etc. See *ibid.* and also Cassidy (1971 [1961] :273).
12. The present Burru musicians in Spring Village (St. Catherine) do not call their drums “Burru drums”. As I will mention later, the names are as the same as the Rastafarian drums, i.e. “bass”, “fundeh”, and “repeater (peta)”.
13. Cassidy also uses terms such as “cult” and “semireligious order”. He states in *Jamaica Talk* that “Burru” is used for “religious fanaticism (as in Pocomania [Pukkumina]) and a burru-man is a Pocomania dancer” (1971[1961]:273). Italics are mine. The writer prefers to use the word “Pukkumina” since “Pocomania” alludes to “a little madness”, a derogatory interpretation based on the orthography.
14. Mento is a half pop, half folk ballad, a two-step dance music. It was most popular in the late 1950s, contributing to produce the first Jamaican pop music ska and even to the present form of reggae. Some say that it has become a “tourist music” like Jamaican calypso (originally from Trinidad), and yet it is played for their own entertainment. The instruments typically used are banjoes, drums, guitars, percussions, rhumba box, bamboo flute, saxophone, etc. (A rhumba box is the base version of an African thumb piano. Metal keys are plucked up by fingers, and the sound resonates in the box. See Picture 17). Etymologically, mento is “unknown” but could be “African?” [*sic*] “It is thought to have been brought by Jamaicans returning from work in Cuba,” according to an internationally known scholar/dancer Rex Nettleford (1963). See further Cassidy, “Mento” in *Dictionary*.

Mento is also used for a type of dance used “at wakes and other entertainments”. It is regarded as “originally a digging-song”. See also Baxter (1970).

Baxter relates mento to a Spanish word “mentar”, to “call out” or to “name”. This persuades readers to understand the type of songs (and dances) and the lyrical content of mento. As some other folk songs and ballads in the world, the typical characteristics of lyrics of mento is that they depict local people, a local society and community, narrating what has happened in the near past in more or less a satirical yet amusing way. This nature is also understood as a prominent

feature among African songs and in the Americas including the neighbouring Caribbean countries and colonial territories. Baxter accounts for calypso and the Decima of Cuba, pointing to some similarities and commenting on “double entendre”. (See especially pp. 174, 176–78, 192, 199–200.)

15. This is from a collection of recorded Burru music by Ms. Whylie and her staff at the School of Music. She is at present the head of the Folk Music Research Unit of the School and has researched extensively, recording the music. This song was recorded in Hayes, Clarendon on the 14th of January in 1967. Transcription was helped by Ms. Whylie. “Rey Buddy” can be a person’s name, but Ms. Whylie said it had no significance.
16. From the same collection of the Hayes Burru songs.
17. This song has a typical call-and-response pattern with short phrases and sentences. This of course is repeated again and again with slight differences each time. The expression itself is not as explicit as we might expect partly because the situation belongs to them. It could be a political satire. Only those who know something about the governor can fully appreciate and enjoy this type of song.
18. This song, when it was composed and sung, could be very personal. Most of the people who know him personally or indirectly might chuckle at him or sympathise with him.
19. This song is said to be similar to a pop song in the 1950s, “Pupa Fits upon Mi Now”.

cf. “Fits Is On My Nerve”

One bright and early morning,
Before the sun was out,
I met upon a young lady.
She was combing her daughter’s hair,
Daughter turn and said mama,
I dare not live alone,
I used of a faithful husband,
For the fits is on my nerve,
Mama, mama fits, (Repeat twice)
Fits is on my head (nerves).

The tune is exactly the same, and only some words differ. Ms. Whylie has not discovered yet which was the original. “Fit(s) is basically paroxysm of periodic ailment, sudden transitory attack of some illness; sudden seizure, with loss of consciousness or convulsions, of hysteria, apoplexy, fainting, paralysis, or

epilepsy.” It is also used to designate “a painful experience: an access, temporary attack, or outburst of anything, as laughter: a sudden effort or motion: a mood or passing humour.”

20. Much of the information is due to an excellent drummer/music researcher, Ms. Whylie, and Mr. Antonio Henry, a drummer/researcher, who then worked in the same Unit, and Ms. Olive Lewin for interviews and other valuable information or materials.
21. “(H)ow” is pronounced without *h* sound. When a word beginning with *h* is preceded by a vowel sound, the average Jamaican omits the *h* sound.
22. This song has a little bit of call-and-response pattern in the beginning.
23. “What a Way Zuzu Walk Get Een Deh”

“WANDA WEH MUSSU WALK”

Wanda weh mussu walk go ech deh, (Repeat)

Mussu walk tru de key hole,

Get een deh,

Wanda deh mussu walk go een deh. (Rept.)

cf. “WONDER WHEY MOOSIE WALK GO IN DEH”

Wonder whey moosie walk go in deh, (Repeat four times)

Look like a key hole,

de moosie walk go in deh,

Wonder weh moosie walk go in deh. (Repeat)

(Words supplied by M. Whylie)

24. “Sly Mongoose”

“MONGOOSE Mongoose Sey.”

(Air: 1922)

Mongoose say ‘im a Bedward member,

Bedward say ‘im no quite remember,

Mongoose say mi join last September,

Run mongoose.

Chorus:

Run, Mongoose Run,

you name gone abroad. (Repeat)

Mongoose say him like rice and pumpkin,
Bedward say him like cornmeal dumplin'
Mongoose say you no know good sumptin'
Run Mongoose.

Mongoose go in a Bedward kitchen
Tief out one ob him righteous chicken
Put it in a him weskit pocket.
Run gone home.

The righteous chikin him tief befo
Tekwey himself and gone out a doah,
Lawd and Massa him get de blow.
Slide Mongoose.

(From Clerk [1933?])

25. "Jack-ass a Jump an' Bray"

"JACKASS DEY JUMP AN' BRAY"

You no yerry* wha' de young man say?
No tie you down dey
You no yerry wha' de young man say?
No tie you donkey down dey
De Jackass dey jump an bray
Make 'im bray, Make 'im bray
De Jackass dey jump an bray
Make 'im bray, Make 'im bray
(Repeat)

*You no yerry (Don't you hear) there

(From Stockhausen and Brown [n.d.])

26. "Wheel O, Wheel O?"

Wheel O, Wheel o, what a boderation, (Repeat)
Wheel o, wheel o,
Said a morning lef' me wid mi true person
Wheel o, wheel o,
So mi walk a de path, and mi walk a de road o (Rept.)

"boderation" = botheration, "lef'" = left

"a de path (road)" = on (of) the path (road)

I do not know whether this is related with a game song called "Wheel O Matilda".

(Chorus) Wheel O, wheel O,
Wheel O Matilda
Turn de waata wheel, O, Matilda. (Repeat)

1. Matilda lass her pretty little gold-ring,
Turn de waata wheel, oh Matilda. (Repeat)

(Chorus)
2. Matilda find her pretty little gold ring,
Turn do waata wheel, oh Matilda. (Repeat)

(Chorus)
3. Matilda walk and yanga so-so, etc.

(Chorus)

“waata” = water, “lass” = lost, “yanga” = rocks,
“so-so” = thus

This song is extracted from Hylton-Tomlison (n.d.)

27. “John Tom”

Mi ask(axe) her if she cut already,
John Tom,
She tell me no John Tom. (Repeat)
Ordinarily “ask” is pronounced as [aks].

28. “Mango Blossom”

“MANGO BLASSOM”

June an’ July mango blassom
Mango mango, mango blassom
Hairy mango, mango blassom
Bambay mango, mango blassom
June an’ July, mango blassom
Number eleven, mango blassom
June an’ July, mango blassom
Mango blassom, mango blassom

“MANGO BLASSOM”

Mango de blassom, Mango blassom (Repeat)
June an’ July, Mango blassom (Repeat)
Come mek we go a hill, Mango blassom,
Sec mango blassom, mango blassom.

Mango de blossom, mango blossom, (Repeat)
 Now June an' July, Mango Blossom, (Repeat)
 Sour sap de blossom, Mango Blossom,
 Ackee deh blossom, Mango Blossom,
 Mango deh blossom, Mango Blossom,
 Young girl deh blossom, Mango Blossom,
 Come we go deh Guay Hill, Mango Blossom
 See Mango blossom, Mango Blossom.

Now June an' July, Mango blossom (Repeat)
 Mango deh blossom, Mango blossom (Repeat)
 Ackee deh blossom, Mango blossom (Repeat)
 Sour sap deh blossom, Mango blossom,
 Old lady deh blossom, Mango blossom,
 Young girl deh blossom, Mango blossom,
 Young boy deh blossom, Mango blossom,
 Come we go a hill, Mango blossom,
 See mango blossom, Mango blossom
 Now June an' July, Mango Blossom (Repeat)

29. "Downtown Gal"* (*Titled by myself.)

Caan bawl at all (Repeat)
 Downtown gal dem a wear paper draws
 Caan bawl at all

"Downtown" = downtown Kingston

"Caan" = can't

"dem a wear" = they are wearing (or they wear),

"draw" = panty

It suggests how bad the conditions were in downtown Kingston. These songs are from the tape collection of Ms. Whyllie kept in the Folk Music Research Unit of the School of Music. Most of the songs were recorded in May, 1975.

30. Still I would like to leave room for this discussion, waiting for further research.
31. Dreads or dreadlocks are those whose hair is unkempt and longer than that of ordinary people. They are not necessarily Rastafarians though the word is often used mistakenly to identify Rastafarians. Dreadlocks are said to have appeared first in Kingston around 1947. (cf. Barrett 1968:76). They seemed to become fashionable since the late 1950s.
32. As to the internal migration, the following are very useful: Ebanks (1968), Harewood (1976), Leatrice and MacDonald (1969), G. Roberts (1957, 1975).

33. Reckord (1977) mentions that it was in the 1930s whereas Marjorie Whyllie in a taped interview (with myself) said 1940s and 1950s. (February 19, 1980). Shantytowns were spreading to the eastern side too. See the next chapter and the map of Kingston.
34. Ordinary Jamaicans, especially lower-class people are less educated and speak with an [h] sound before a vowel when a word begins with a vowel. On the other hand, they do not pronounce [h] sound when a vowel follows, which is similar to the Spanish custom. Ex. "Egg" is pronounced as [heg], and "hand" becomes [an(d)] or [n(d)].
35. As to Jonkunnu, see the following: Barnett (1979), Baxter (197), Wynter (197).
36. When exactly and how to celebrate these ceremonies and rituals differ according to each group within the Rastafarian movement. Historically the birthday of Selassie is July 23, 1892; his coronation, November 30, 1930; and his state visit to Jamaica, April 21, 1966. In addition, the year 1980 was celebrated as the "golden jubilee" of the movement.
37. Brodber's *A Study of Yards* is a laborious work full of insights and suggestions on the real yard life, which is applicable to the broader Jamaican life. She elucidates out of the results taken from the beginning of the collaboration with other social workers and others. Patterson, himself a sociologist, has researched on the lower-class people and has written three novels with sympathy and empathy. This (*The Children of Sisyphus*) is one of the trilogy. Mais was a great novelist whose concern was mainly the lower-class people. These two among his works are the very necessity for Rastafarian studies. The three authors were born in Jamaica. *The Children of Sisyphus* and *The Hills Were Joyful Together* seem to be close to naturalism in the American literature.
38. From a taped interview with me on February 14, 1980.
39. Fu-Kiau K. Kia Bunseki-Lumanisa, the Congolese anthropologist, asserted that "'cyās' is the Kikongo for the sensa drum." See Brathwaite (1979:63).

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RASTAFARIAN MUSIC - ITS GROWTH AND DIVERSIFICATION¹

A. EARLY DEVELOPMENT

The earlier stages of Rastafarian music differed from the present form. As is stated in the previous chapter, Rastafarian bynghi music first took form through direct Burru contacts and certain Kumina influences. The then Burru people,² attracted by the Rastafarian type of communal fellowship especially at bynghi, are thought to have attended those sessions. They had not only showed themselves but provided their type of music that was considered very African, hence very popular among themselves. They could enjoy themselves, meeting and fulfilling their own roles appropriately in capacity and ability. They could respect and share with one another the communal identity as African descendants, without acknowledging their own exclusive nature to other Afro-Jamaican traditions.

Among them all, Count Ossie (Oswald Williams) was the greatest initiator of the formal Rastafarian bynghi music pattern and for its popularisation at the same time. Without him, it is doubtful whether "Rastafarian music" would have been formulated as such. He himself explained how the original, "traditional" Rastafarian music came into its own. It was shaped in the late 1940s in the slum section called the Dungle³ in West Kingston. In those days he often communicated with a set of Rastafarian brethren to "reason". During the course of time, "under a tree", the idea of the music that he was seeking came, and he was inspired to develop it (Reckord 1977:8-9).

He seemed to have been born a drummer. Since early childhood, he was reported to have shown talent and eagerness in drumming. He used to tap and hit on any material available such as pans and tins when a drum was not in hand. Knowing this, his mother sent him to the Drum Corps in his hometown, Bito, a small district in East Rural St. Andrew, where he was trained.

Born illegitimately, Ossie led miserable life from the early years. His only consolation out of misfortune and hardships was drumming. Suffering various privations in the slums where Burru people and Rastafarians were becoming prevalent, he took on the Rastafarian faith by the age of fourteen. Though he associated with vagabonds, meeting some people there was the key to ascending the ladder of fulfillment, if not success in the material sense. They were master drummers with such names as "Biggar", "Easyboat", "Babba-boab", "Watto King", and "Job". They used to be Burru people. When Ossie met them, however, they were already believers in the

Rastafarian faith. Under the guidance of Brother Job, Ossie toiled on the fundeh drum to the preceptor's (Bro. Job's) repeater (Crooks 1980).

Townpeople were enjoying drumming even on the corners of streets reeking of garbage and in the gullies, whether by listening or playing as anyone else who had been brought up under such a circumstance where African traditions were effective and profound. A Western musical instrument was considered a luxury to those people at that time. (Even now one is, to a lesser extent.) Drums that can be made out of materials at hand thus had a mysterious authority among other instruments. The intensity of drumming, moreover, correlates with the integrity of the reasoning sessions.

In the meantime, Watto King, who also taught Brother Job, made drums at Ossie's request after Ossie had mastered the fundeh, and shortly afterwards, the repeater. This is why Rastafarian drums were modelled after the Burru drums.

Ossie, passing through the apprenticeship under the previous Burru drummers, freed the styles by his own creativity. Various types or "ridim" (the total combination of drumming sounds and rhythms)⁴ were transmitted to others through casual visits, bynghis, and street meetings. The "Big Three" [Ossie, Philmore Alvarange, and "Big Bra" Gaynaire (saxophonist)] were wellknown at the 1949 Christmas meeting which attracted a large number of brethren at Wareika Hill in East Kingston. The sound and the rhythm seemed to be the amalgamation of the Burru and the embryonic Rastafarian.

Ossie formed a musical group in the late 1940s after he moved to Adastra Road near Glasspole Avenue, where the present cultural community centre was founded in 1972.⁵ According to one of the first members, his group consisted of five at first. (Now they are more than twenty including female dancers.) He explained that it was started just as an ordinary grounation. There were several groups which had relatively good drummers, yet none was as excellent as Ossie.

Such a musical group formation is one of the stepping stones to fame and to assert influence in the society where Rastafarians had been always degraded. They became well-known to the wider world largely due to Count Ossie's superb drumming. He came to be designated the Count not merely because of his masterly drumming but because of his personality which was meditative, warm, and pleasing, was admired and appreciated as a modest leader. When invited, he displayed the richness of his inner feelings by drumming on special occasions in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

However, the connection and misinterpreted identification with rudies and the violent sections of Rastafarians resulted in unclear and ambivalent responses from society. Even though the musical talent and skill of Rastafarian musicians were more than attractive and praiseworthy, some militant, excessively disparaging lyrics, abusive cries and shrieks (e.g. "Nyabyngihi!" (meaning "death to the white and the

oppressor!"), "Fire!", "Brimstone!", "Babylon!", etc.) tended to maximise the scorn and hatred between the Rastafarians together with their sympathisers and those who were not. Their music was too African (and the others' was too Western), therefore even fearsome to most of the brown or "red" middle class and fairer upper-class people.

Looking back at the period of slavery, we note similarities with modern oppressive society. In only 1717, a law was enacted banning drumming and blowing horns and shells or other "noises". This shows excessive fear of the slaves on the part of the white controllers. The planters and their associates who had been ignorant of the slave culture, came to recognise the importance of the seemingly insignificant music and instruments. These were the very means of the "secret" communication among the slaves even while they were under the strict supervision on the estates. The slaves were clever enough to enjoy themselves and at the same time continue their worship and rituals as their *raison d'être*. The consolidated law was enforced in 1827 as if to exterminate the inner uneasiness that would soon surface as well as to demonstrate overriding authority over the whole island.⁶

Jamaicanisation, however, was in process. The history of resistance, rebellions, and even the small-scale disturbances since the emancipation of slaves in Jamaica (1838), showed how the large oppressed majority of the people under certain decisive class lines felt, suffered, and determined to respond out of impatience to the ruling privileged minority. From the sufferers always emerged leaders of disobedience and revolt. Those leaders also were either very religious or religious leaders themselves, for religion then functioned not exclusively as a ritual or spiritually, but also dealt with the individuals' entire life.

Meanwhile there was the formation of a new class after the chain of slavery was broken. The mulatto stratum and its fairer siblings and offspring, became the core of the middle class. They made tremendous efforts to whiten themselves in every sense of the word. The top and the middle sections of the pyramidal social hierarchy clung desperately to maintain their positions by means of mobility chiefly through higher education, marriage with a better and fairer lineage and with material wealth. Their aim was never to denigrate nor disgrace the inherited status. "Ebery jan crow waan (or tink) im pickney wite." [Every John Crow wants (or thinks) his child white] (Jamaican proverb).

On one hand, those who were in the higher social strata had to advance themselves culturally as well. In those days ideological control by metropolitan power was effective enough to persuade the colonised and the underdeveloped to think favourably of the power. The result has been the famous dichotomy; the white, the European (later including the big world powers) vs. the worse (even the worst), the inferior. Naturally, cultural refinement was the target especially of the growing middle class.

They were good at monkeying what seemed to be metropolitan superiority. A speech pattern was one of the criteria. The internationally known Jamaican dialect entertainer, Louise Bennett, in "JAMAICA PATOIS", pictures how a Jamaican woman "in the quest for status, assimilates some of the speech habits of the foreigners" when "the war (World War II) brought to Jamaica many refugees from Europe, particularly Gibraltar..."⁷

Dis is how she greet me wat day,
"Manana coaraseng,
How is you Granmadre? Ah hope
She keepin muyee beng"
Me go eena her shop, an call
Fe tree gil wut o' saal,
An some oder tings wat come up
To mack-an-tup in all.
Wen she sell me done she say,
"Add dem up sinorita,
For is hard fe intiendeh,
Jamaica diniera!"

"NOH LICKLE TWANG!" reversely "bemoans the fact that a recent repatriate Jamaican has returned from the United States without a trace of having been – not even a little 'twang'! This, to say the least, is a highly unusual occurrence and all the more unforgivable."⁸

Yuh mean yuh goh dah 'Merica
An spen six whole mont' deh,
An come back not a piece betta
Dan how yuh did goh wey?
Bwoy yuh noh shame? Is soh you come?
Afta yuh tan soh lang!
Not even lickle language bwoy?
Not even little twang?

In the meantime, a small number of Jamaican intellectuals were pursuing their real "national" and cultural identity, not the borrowed one from the metropole. They were well aware of the large "Afro" substance among the population who had been assimilated into the Jamaican "pepper-pot".⁹ Jamaican cultural identity, albeit unable to extract from the broad identity problem, was to be sought from the bottom, the root, the bush, and the "Afro". Then commenced the gradual appreciation of such "bongo" music as Rastafarian-oriented music, however unwillingly at

first. "Bongo" refers to African, black, which has been used mostly in derogatory senses. Thanks to the Rastafarian contribution to the upliftment of everything African, this term has gained certain respect and pride.

Rastafarian-oriented musical groups were gaining opportunities to perform even at dances, night clubs, and leading theatres besides bynghis and very private and informal associations. More public exposure was desired besides regular performances in the ghetto slums. For example, entertainment programmes or shows such as at Coney Island or through "Opportunity Knocks" sponsored by a famous entertainer, Vere John, did provide great opportunities for amateur or unexplored talent in those days, especially in the 1950s. Count Ossie passed this step, and so did the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari. (At first, Cedric Brooks belonged to this group.) The atmosphere of the outside world was becoming more and more receptive. There flowed a stream of growing consciousness that had to be nourished forcefully towards the national identity. The island, as well as other West Indian colonies, was approaching the grown-up stage, heading for the independence tested through the various prerequisites, mainly of the political preparations.

The cultural identity was necessarily equalised in proportion to the composition of the total population: since Jamaica's population was of the predominantly black, so should be its national identity. It was not strange at all for some proponents to cry out as proud descendants of the black Africans. These sentiments could not be repressed. On the contrary, it was fostered to express itself *through* the exploitations. Music represented this.

It was still true that Afro-flavoured music was depreciated in spite of the splendour, particularly in terms of rhythm and the type of musical instruments. It is undeniable that those who aspired to the elegant or classical culture attempted to regard the bush-born, the yard-born, and the slum-born music as too crude and savage. Yet the *éclat* in turn ameliorated the sheer prejudice against them. This again furthered their intentions and the qualitative development as musicians or entertainers.

The gradual accomodation with other types of music including the black American music such as blues and jazz and some Latin American types like rumba and mambo gave birth to ska, the first pop music in Jamaica. The Skatalites were the most successful at that time.¹⁰ Rastafarians did without doubt contribute to the initiation and the maturation of ska. This mingling of Rastafarians and pop music greatly influenced distinguished musicians like the trombonist Don Drummond and saxophonist-drummer Cedric Brooks.

The visit of the late emperor Haile Selassie in 1966 became another breakthrough towards the wider society when their musical-cum-ritual welcome ceremony with striking warrior dancing startled those who witnessed it.

B. MUSICAL VARIETY

The development of Rastafarian music portrays not only vertical growth but also horizontal diversity. To sum up, Rastafarian music has developed from the traditional chanting and drumming of predominantly "churchical" type to more "secular kind of projection of philosophy, not just confined to chanting but to popular, vernacular, more funky style... and of more general awareness of what is happening in different kinds of relationship."¹¹

The more traditional forms and structure of Rastafarian music permeated the corners of Rastafarian brethren, the more the musicians with potentiality budded from the submerged slum area. Drummers and other colleagues have kept on practising and performing mainly for their bynghi or grounations. The introversive nature of both the music itself and the musicians themselves, however, would not remain within the limited Rastafarian world.

There were the possible groundings for a world of variation within the Rastafarian music as well. According to certain sources of information, each bynghi or group of brethren has its own originally created pieces of music.¹² It even seems that fundamentally the boundary of repertoire is not supposed to be invaded. One piece may have been cultivated through years of group gatherings and exposure to others, which in turn stimulated new ideas. Various transformations and creative compositions have taken place as well as preservation with gradual refinement. In addition, borrowing from other musical sources as traditional folk and recently pop music has not been uncommon at all.

It seems particularly common to imitate or adopt melody lines into whatever way the brethren like. The word and phrase substitution is also a favourite. The variety of their music, therefore, can be fathomless out of pure creation. Many popular melodies have been borrowed chiefly from the Christian hymns as the basic character of Rastafarian music is rooted in "churchical" tradition; that is, it originated out of religious fervour.

In addition, the exposure of Rastafarians to the Revival sects (e.g., the Zion Revivals or Revival Zion and the Pukkumina) has influenced the tunes despite the fact that both groups have been antagonistic to each other principally due to the differences of the religious doctrines. Some common denominators between both groups are, generally speaking: urban ghetto setting, political manipulation and victimisation, socioeconomic deprivation, religious ostracisation and psychocultural dislocation in the society. Antagonism exists in spite of (or because of) these overlapping factors. Above all, the belief system and the attractiveness to others seem very critical for both of them have tried to proselytise and increase the congregation at street meetings. The Rastafarian substitutionism from the Revivals, nonetheless, is not a parody towards them, but a mere appropriation of the common property,

that is, the Christian hymnals.

It is no exaggeration to say that the maturity of drummers goes hand in hand with the development of Rastafarian music as a whole. The rhythm structure, which is its very trademark, has undergone experimental variation and improvisation though the ostinato pattern has been created and elaborated particularly on the ornamental or "talking" basis.

Instrumentation also has become elaborate and diversified, adopting more modern, Western instruments such as guitar, saxophone, trombone, flute, etc., and more sophisticated percussions. The introduction of electricity into the previously "natural" instruments completely changed the sound, the entire atmosphere, the quality, the effects and the estimation. Change has continued in the period of the sound system, an importation from the United States, to the present day. However, both the players and the audience seem not have forgotten the genuine appreciation for the simple, unartificial instrumentation.

Contributing to this diversification process is the formation of musical groups. Most popular are groups such as the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari (formerly Count Ossie and the M.R.R. before his death), Ras Michael and the Sons of Negus, Abyssinians, Ethiopians, Light of Saba, Israel Vibration, to mention a few. These musical groups have sprung up mostly for the sake of "art" (that of entertainment) heading towards the stream of pop music. The current trend towards public exposure has accelerated especially in the last decade.

C. FUNCTIONAL DIVERSITY

Although Rastafarian music has provided diversified functions, the basic collective grounding has never declined. In either a small group or a large communal bynghi, the music has unified the spirit and principles or beliefs with "high" moods. Strong religious foundations have spread. The common communication with Jah has been comparable to Christian communal worship. Bynghi drumming is the vital direction setter for the gathers' spiritual flow. By "ridim", mutual (even sacramental) fellowship can be deepened.

Drumming naturally leads to dancing. Rastafarian dancing is not so complex and requires no specific technique or talent. Everyone may dance in a personal style. Many just sway their bodies and/or step or stamp in place to the rhythm of fundamentally heart-throbbing tempo. When the tempo becomes twice as fast as the original pulse speed when drumming culminates, some may follow with more active motions, some may stop, listening more intently to the percussion ensemble with or without chanting and hails to Jah, and some others may change thier style of dancing to adapt to various types of fast dance as seen both in other Afro-

Jamaican religions (cf. Moore 1979) and in social gatherings including reggae parties and disco.

Drums and other percussion instruments seem to function more than pianos or organs of the established orthodox churches.¹³ One of the convincing reasons is related to the posture of the congregation. Generally, the congregation within an orthodox church building or cathedral remain static in accord with the solemn architecture and the regular and balanced music. On the other hand, the Afro-Jamaican religious congregation have inherited an unseemly type of worship to compare with seemingly graceful ceremonies. They sometimes dance frantically then suddenly wail amens, appear possessed, and emotionally clap hands. They are very mobile spiritually and physically and feel free in expression.

Rastafarian kinesthetics is different from other Afro-Jamaicanism in one characteristic: the former excludes spirit possession or trance during fast drum-centred musical performance and its according dance. Most Rastafarians do not circle clockwise or counterclockwise as in the Revivalists or some other Afro-folk types like Kumina. On such occasions, more women than men tend to be enticed into another phase of the world and gather everyone's attention. Rastafarian participants seldom lift up their hands towards the sky as is peculiarly seen among the Pentecostals.

Rastafarian music not only functions as a means of communication with Jah and among the fellowship but is also a means of the expression for both individual and collective hope. Their total identification is examined, confirmed, dignified and re-exalted as the Black African, the Black diaspora, the Chosen people, Black Israelites, children of Jah in Babylon, and as gods themselves. Here, the boundary between the religious and the social disappears.

It is in the role of a bynghi that this sort of inseparable nature between the religious and the social is typically represented.

This inseparability applies also to rather exceptional groups as the Ethiopian International Congress(Bobos) and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The former regards their music as strictly "churchical", with the performances only within the "holy tabernacle". Its has a more limited role than ordinary bynghis. The latter functions substantially as an established Christian Church. (This seems equally true in any authentic religion.)

Nyabyngi music, as Reckord points out, capacitates participants to take a "refuge... against frustration and oppression" from the daily life (Reckord 1977 :10). At the same time, the Rastafarian sentiment of healing power in their music, if it exists, seems both religious and secular. It must come from the effects of both physical and spiritual involvement in the music, especially of the drumming (Neher 1962). It does not matter in this sense whether a participant is a player or a listener. And lastly, the herb ganja itself has both the functions. Incidentally the herb is called "the healing power of the nation".

The location of their music performance depends on the size, nature, and objective of the gathering. A yard is very common for a small bynghi with an attendance of nearby brethren and onlookers. If a bynghi is, for instance, family-based occasion, a house yard, if available, might be used. Casual participants can be regular brethren's relatives who live nearby, some other brethren who dwell in the vicinity, their friends and sympathisers. More space is required in a regular large gathering or special assemblies, such as monthly meetings of the Twelve Tribes of Israel and occasional celebrations of the Theocratic Government. Some groups use a large building; e.g., the Ethiopian International Congress(Bobos) use a "holy tabernacle", and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church keep a church building in which a tabernacle is preserved. A symbolic "tabernacle"¹⁴ is maintained by the Theocratic Government [Picture 7].

The frequency of meetings varies. Regularly scheduled meetings are supposed to be attended by every member in the cases of "(holy) sabbaths" and services. The annual celebrations such as Christmas, the birthday, coronation, and state visit to Jamaica of the Emperor Selassie are other reasons for holding an assembly. Other occasions like African Liberation Day and Marcus Garvey's birthday are observed among some groups. But even on such occasions not all the "members" come.

A session starts whenever some brethren get a feeling to initiate it. These brethren know the best timing to start by observing the spiritual atmosphere of the whole gathering. This type of get-together was common to nearly all the bynghis I observed. Such casualness and freedom in time control is also observed in even relatively and large-scale gatherings as sabbath worships of the Ethiopian International Congress and a monthly meeting of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. The duration of an assembly is usually quite long, lasting from a few hours to all night (or they say "all day") since it is expressed as "ceaseless praise and thanksgiving" chanting.

Musical groups may be excluded here, though Rastafarian sessions are often prolonged. Their concept of time is often considered "loose". They may have less regard for other Jamaicans' concept of time, which is still close to Latin Americans'. Another reason may be attributed to the very nature of the sessions. An exalted atmosphere is easily attained partly because of the ganja spliffs and partly caused by the nearly enraptured musical performances, dances, and verbalism. In addition, generally they have not been accustomed to superintendence.

The multifaceted entity of Rastafarian music can be roughly categorised as the bynghi, the churchical, and the artistic types. The bynghi music is the original Rastafarian music, more or less spontaneously born. Hence spontaneity and impromptu are most characteristic during a session. The churchical type is applied to ritual music of relatively organised groups such as Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Ethiopian International Congress and Twelve Tribes.

Rastafarian music as a whole may be still in its adolescent stage. The bynghi type

functions mainly for mutual sharing where anyone can participate casually. The churchical type such as Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Ethiopian International Congress, is occasionally extremely difficult to distinguish from the usual bynghi type because of its religiosity. Some marked distinctions are that the music is foremost hymnlike and that it is played *for* the congregation; hence it must be arranged previously and orderly. No spontaneity is expected in the same sense as the bynghi music. The "artistic" Rastafarian music of musical groups seems to be performed for entertainment purposes.

On one hand, reflecting the diversification of group, a chant popular among certain "members" of a group is not necessarily so among another. Some music is played primarily for certain sections of Rastafarians. On the other hand, some other music is popular cutting across the group boundaries of the movement. However, it is quite rare for the former case to propagate its own righteousness disregarding other groups: on the contrary, songs are sung not just to intensify identification as group members, but also to promote universality and ecumenical validity of Rastafarian ideas. Rastafarian pop music, especially reggae, has functioned to shoulder the responsibility of spreading a catholic image of positive Rastafarianism. Though both are interdependent, bynghi types seem to be somewhat more awed because of rituality and authenticity however crude the sound may be. The feedback between the crude grounation sound and the refined and sophisticated one has fostered reciprocally both poles of the music spectrum, with one extreme the most primordial bynghi, and the other, the most experienced and "artful" reggae (DIAGRAM VI).

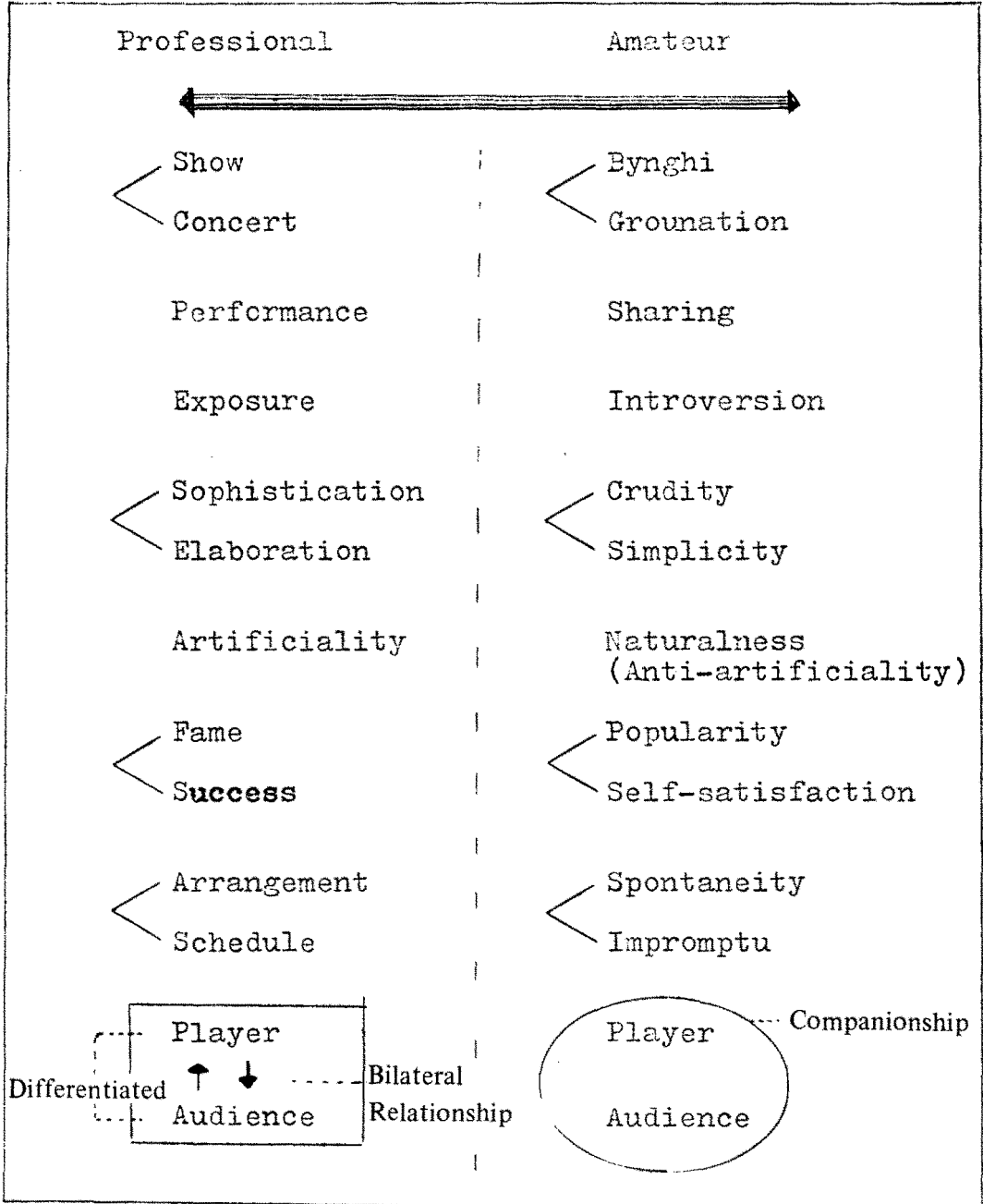
The basic traits of performances tend to be reflected in the pop music scene. However, the profound power and authority of pop music as social comment, message, and as a protest is superimposed on the more inner-directed original bynghi music. This tendency has become conspicuous even among the Rastafarian brethren who just play music. The reason is that they are inclined to popularity, fame, and fund raising.

Presently polarisation is seen to a certain extent between the professional musicians and the ordinary brethren. The spectrum mirrors the tendency to seek success first for financial gain, then spiritual satisfaction (the end of the professional musician type), and vice versa (the end of the crude bynghi type). To make up for such a gap, groups like the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari and Cedric Brook's United Africa, in particular, have contributed both to their own groups and to the community development in the vicinity. Examples are shown.

The United Africa, though not categorised as a Rastafarian group, consists of young instrumentalists who become also vocalists and dancers. The regular members include females, even as drummers. These youth have been trained by Brother Cedric to present a good performance. The group has organised a free monthly cultural session, open to all, from about 6:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. at his yard in

[DIAGRAM VI]

Music Spectrum
(A Simplified Schema)



Vineyard Town (on Rochdale Ave.), Kingston. Their session is close to a "show", sometimes with ital food and refreshments¹⁵ on sale. A session performance which is led by Cedric usually includes: music, both instrumental only and with vocal; dance accompanied mostly by drumming; Cedric's short oral explanation on their performance and on African culture in relation to Jamaica; and sometimes an acrobatic entertainment feat. All performances are quite suggestive of what is African. Performers are clad in African costumes mostly with headties, caps, or hair accessories, focusing on rich colour combination (red, gold, green, white, and black are very much favoured) and tie-dye. Dancing is very energetic, with abundant sinuous pelvic movements. The instruments include several kinds of drums (e.g., the three Rastafarian types and conga), scrapers and clappers, saxophone, flute, etc. [Pictures 23–25].

Such endeavours have been observed with steady appreciation by the local attendance, though not with great applause. It is still no doubt that their performances must have contributed to the identification of participants with African roots.

The Mystic Revelation of Rastafari holds a grounation every Sunday night from around 6:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. at the community centre on Glasspole Avenue in downtown Kingston. This is not a show but an ordinary collective musical ritual. It requires no formal procedure. It is not organised as such but seems to be totally dependent upon regular male members' feelings and intentions. Quite recently, young female dancers have started to be trained to perform "African" dances, just as the United Africa's. When they happen to remain during a grounation with "guests" (i.e. non-member visitors) and are told to dance, they dance showing shyness, accompanied by their music.

Performances are supposed to be open to all, but usually only several neighbours come. When a performance is good, it is often related to the quality of drumming and vocal harmony, neighbours' attendance, and their response with physical movements, such as moderate body swaying and with smiles. Though many may not attend or participate in M.R.R. grounation, it does not necessarily imply their indifference. The music is heard around the location.

On the whole, the wedded Rasta-pop stream which is widely recognised as Rasta music has amplified its range and scope as time went on.

NOTES

1. This section is based on my report at a Caribbean Seminar of the Dept. of English, U.W.I., Mona on April 25, 1980. Thanks go to the organiser, Dr. Chang, Rastafarian sociologist "Ikael" Hutchinson, Dr. Brathwaite and other participants at the discussion.
2. V. Reckord (1977) mentions the merge of the Burru people into the Rastafarian movement since the later 1940s. From the early 1940s, this process commenced as the movement grew. By the turn of the 1950s, the Burru people were almost totally extinct.
3. "Dungle" in West Street area of downtown Kingston, one of the most notorious slums is regarded a mixture of the symbolic words, "dump" (and "down") and "jungle", which depict the entire life and environment of the area then.
4. "Ridim" is derived from "rhythm" and now indicates "the coordinated relationship between the patterns of the three drums (bass, fundeh, and repeater) in Rasta Music" and recently "the behaviour of the rhythm in Reggae Music", borrowing the words of Reckord (*ibid.*:13).
5. Samuel Clayton, the "orator-philosopher" of the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari, said that after coming back from a tour to the U.S.A. and Canada, the construction was set forth. Some portion of the funds were collected during this trip.
6. The 1717 code directed to "...suppress and prevent all Drumming and other Noises". (x. 1717) *Acts of Assembly of Jamaica*, from 1681 to 1754, London, 1756. For the consolidated law, see *The Consolidated Slave Law*, passed the 22nd Dec., 1826, commencing the 1st May, 1827.
7. Extracted from Bennett (1975:88). Each poem is accompanied with a short comment by Rex Nettleford. These verses cited would in standard English be as follows:

This is how she greeted me the other day,
Morning, my dear*
How is your grandmother? I hope
She is keeping very well

I went into her shop, and called
For three farthings' worth of salt,
And some other things came up
To 1s. and 1½d. in all.

When she sold me the things she said,
“Add them up, miss,
For it is hard to understand,
Jamaican currency!”

* As to “coarsaseng”, Mr. Mervyn Morris, the department head of English, U.W.I., Mona, suggested that it must be “corazon” in the correct Spanish, which is “sometimes used as a term of endearment.”

8. Extracted from “NOH LICKLE TWANG!” (Not even a Little Accent), *ibid.*, p. 209. A standard English version would be as follows:

You mean you went to America
And spent six whole months there,
And came back not a piece better
Then why did you go away?

Boy, aren't you ashamed? Is this what you have come to?
After you stayed so long!
Not even a little language, boy?
Not even a little accent?

9. “Pepper-pot soup” is one of the most popular Jamaican traditional dishes. It is thought of as an African heritage of a highly seasoned hotch-potch soup in which a lot of starchy food and certain proteins are mixed.
10. At present one of the Skatalites' members, Tommy McCook, is playing with the M.R.R. (Mystic Revelation of Rastafari).
11. From a taped interview with Cedric “Im” Books on March 10, 1979.
12. The recent fashion of record production and copyright system is misleading. A piece of music, once it becomes popular by a record, is taken for granted as a recorder's “original” regardless of the real original which has been formed most of the times by unknown brethren.
13. In this sense, pentecostal church tambourines are functionally closer to the Rastafarian or other worship using drums.
14. For example, a group on the beach of Bull Bay, Eleven Miles, has built a tall, house-shaped “tabernacle”. It has a thatched roof and is supported by four pillars at the corners and the centre. A similar type of a huge arbour (“tabernacle”) was set up by the brethren when they held a one month session in Bruce Hall, Westmoreland.

15. “Ital” food is a seasoned yet unsalted food that Rastafarians have advocated for “good” and “natural” health. This is based on their religious faith stemming from the Old Testament. As they tend to be vegetarian, no meat, particularly pork, is cooked in this type of dish. Instead, they use lots of beans and peas for protein. “Ital” is another example of Rastafarian neology, signifying “vital” and “total” in this case. “I” is heavily emphasised.

Rastafarian Grounation



(centre)
"Time" on
repeater drum

Drums – (from left) fundeh, fundeh,
repeater, bass, fundeh

Bass drumming



Mystic Revelation of Rastafari
at their community centre in Eastern Kingston

"Christmas" celebration in the "Holy Tabernacle"

Ethiopian International Congress (Bobos) in Bull Bay



Priests in Rasta colour are chanting with shakkas (in hand), facing east.

The tabernacle and instruments are also painted in Rasta colour.



Drumming (left) as a prelude during the preparation for "Christmas" celebration

Dreadlocks with their Drums in Rasta Colour

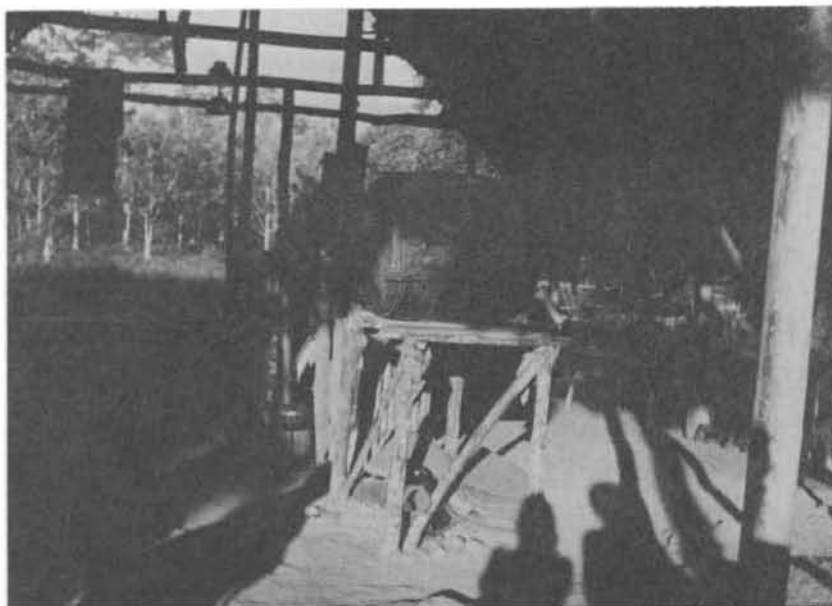


Preparing for
ganja smoking



Preparing for
"ital" food, checking
beans and peas

Rastafarian Drums in the Holy Tabernacle



Theocratic Government in Bruce Hall

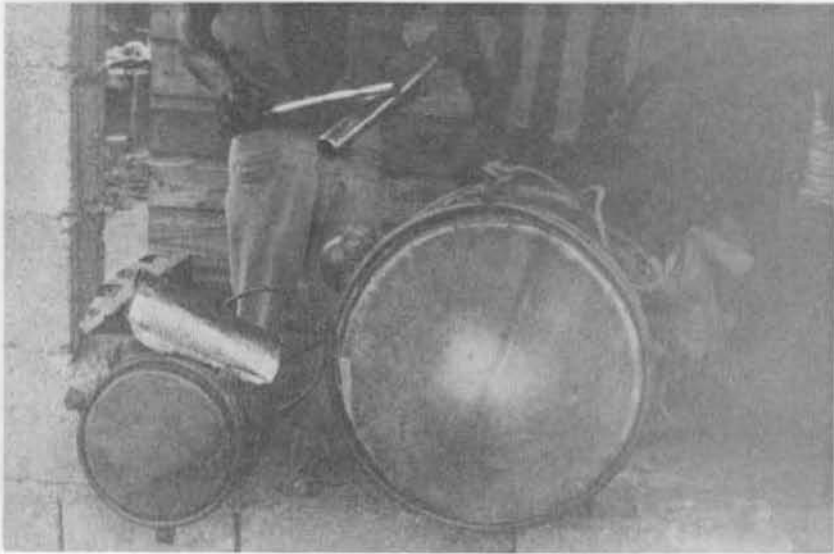
Burru Musicians in Session



Instruments — (from left) bass drum, grater (above)
fundeh drum, shakkas (above),
peater drum, metal bars (above)

Spring Village Burru band performing.

Burru Drums



fundeh bass

Bass Drumming



Kumina Drumming



Two authentic experts on the drums (left: *kbandu*, right: *cyas*)
The other two players are members of the Jamaica Folk Singers.



Ms. M. Whyllie showing
Kumina characteristics



St. Thomas Kumina group performing at the Festival of Music

Maroon Drumming



Singing a Maroon song



A Colonel of Accompong

Jonkonnu Musicians



Performance on the street in uptown Kingston in the beginning of January.

Musicians for Tourists



Performing at a tourist resort in Montego Bay.

A rhumba box (or thumb piano) is seen in the middle.

Variety of Folk Music Instruments



(from the Festival of Music held in Kingston)

Olive Lewin and the Jamaica Folk Singers



Free performance
on the beach

(Right)
Ms. Lewin

Musical Procession on Christmas Eve
Ethiopian Orthodox Church



Going out of
the church

cf. [DIAGRAM VII]

United Africa in Performance in Cedric Brook's Yard



(centre)
Cedric Brooks

A young lady beating
the congo drum is seen.



"African" dance



"African" dance

CHAPTER V

RASTAFARIAN RITUAL AND (NYA)BYNGHI MUSICAL PERFORMANCE

A. SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF RASTAFARIAN RITUAL PERFORMANCE

It is difficult to mention all the characteristics of the generalised Rastafarian ritual performance because so many varieties of distinctions based on groups exist. However, the following points may obtain most Rastafarians' satisfaction.

1. A GENERAL VIEW

The kinds, time, place, duration of a ritual and participants depend on the purpose and nature of ritual, sponsors' intent and capacity and attendants' conditions as well as natural (climatical) and general social, political and economic conditions. The most important ceremony is Haile Salassie's Coronation. It is celebrated on an unfixed day some time in November. Its ritual is performed with a loose schedule and atmosphere. Other relatively important rituals such as Selassie's birthday in April, "Christmas" in December or January and New Year in January are celebrated by some groups, while the commemoration of Marcus Garvey as a "prophet" is not set out as a big occasion by many. As the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is officially Christian, other Christian liturgies such as feet washing, Palm Sunday, Easter and Pentecost are performed.

Apart from these annual celebrations, Rastafarians perform a (Nya)bynghi as an ordinary ritual. Some are held monthly or weekly and others irregularly, for instance, in accordance with the "spirit" of some main members. If the purpose is specified or the performance frequency is relatively high, a kind of formalism in the sequence and pattern tends to appear in order to sustain the "order" of an unorganised and formless performance. Their ritual performances vary from very formal and consecrated to very informal and casual so that no distinction between the sacred and the secular is made (both are mixed). The latter case signifies an ordinary bynghi here. The general setting for a bynghi ritual is: (1)time¹ — from evening till late at night or next morning; (2)place — at an open space in the open air, a brother's "yard", or in a large room.

Generally, no performance transcends basically consented group boundaries. On one hand, a kind of brotherhood, "love" and communion beyond a group boundary — partly derived from the difference in daily life patterns — is highly praised and seen from time to time. In fact, through a bynghi performance, what

Turner(1969) calls "communitas" can be actualised. On the other hand, this tendency also reflects unnecessary intersectorian reserve, vexations and grudge, which have produced separatism.

Who are the general attendants? The Rastafarian ritual is supposed to be fundamentally open to all Rastafarians, regardless of group boundary, sex, age, status, class, ethnic origin, lineage or occupation. Nevertheless, like draws to like. Many sponsors may be jobless or self-sufficient, thus can use their time more freely than "ordinary" people. Other groups or independent brethren connected by personal networks may also be invited (see also DIAGRAM V in Ch. I). All attendants may be treated equally.

However, there exist certain distinctions between pseudospecialists and non-specialists (ordinary brethren), and the allocation among members of distinctive and graded titles (e.g. god, priest/priestess, deacon/deaconess, prophet/prophetess in the Ethiopian International Congress) or functional and "metaphorical" (Leach 1976) names (e.g. the names of the twelve tribes of Israel [Reuben, Simeon, ...Benjamin] as in the Twelve Tribes of Israel) and even baptismal names (as in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church) [APPENDIX E]. The distinction between pseudospecialists and laymen, though unclear, is reflected to a certain extent in some bynghi musical performances. These pseudospecialists tend to be influential at least during a performance.

Those who have leadership are identical in most cases with the founders of groups and subgroups. They tend to be charismatic and attended by followers probably because of their unique and mysterious experiences. Their conversion or realisation of "inborn conception" as being a Rastafarian, depends largely on self-taught and individual understanding, such as "revelation" through dreams and images, enlightenment through reading the Bible, and/or instant awakening. It seems to rely less on mere hearsay and imitation as a fashion though word-of-mouth communication has been used to spread the "faith". Therefore, those who are regarded as specialists or near this category must have wide and deep knowledge of the Bible (particularly the Old Testament and the Book of Revelation of the New Testament) as the sacred book and the only source of truth and wisdom. However, the King James (Authorised) Version is regarded by Rastafarians to be "misinterpreted" so that black people must be led astray.

It should be noted that such knowledge and understanding are highly prejudiced. Their interpretations, especially of the Bible, are based on very limited formal education (many Rastafarians are said to be illiterate and to have scarcely completed elementary school education) but more on personal experiences and hearsay knowledge of black history. These emphasise the savagery and tragedy of slave trade and slavery, white European colonialism and imperialism as an atrocity by the white race. Also, emphasis is placed on the ancient glory and riches of the continent of Africa, and Ethiopia is praised for its unique tradition in Christian history and the long-

retained royal lineage. Most "specialists" cannot be called specialists when they accomodate the Bible to their own personal philosophies, will not admit other interpretations, and claim themselves to be "true Christians". In any way, their prestige is high(cf. DIAGRAM IX).

Their "blackened" Biblical exegeses coincide with their cosmology. There are many versions. Some special features are mentioned here.

God created all: nature, human beings, everything in the universe, according to Genesis. He created the first man, black, and woman as his helper in Africa. Because man was created first, woman, being weak, must obey him. From Sem, the white race was born, while from Ham, the black race. Japhete's descendants are yellow (identified with Chinese and Japanese). Black and yellow are near in colour, and thus the black race and the yellow race are friends. Jews are black. Africans, black Israelites, as it were, because of "sin", were sold as slaves to the New World. They had to be adrift in the wilderness in bondage (slavery conditions) for 400 years. However, the black Moses (Garvey) prophesied that a black king from Ethiopia would save all the black people in trouble from freedom. The king is Haile Selassie I. He was born from the lineage created by the union between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Black people's saviour should be black. Ras Tafari is the returned messiah and the second-coming Christ. Now is the time to realise and regard him as a divine king. Black people in diaspora can and will go back home, to Ethiopia, Africa in order to develop the fertile land. Jamaica is Babylon, Sodom, Gomorrah. Papal Rome has betrayed and hidden the truth from the black people (because it is afraid of black people). Queen Elizabeth is a whore of Babylon. All so-called Christians are bogus and hypocrite. The black race is superior to the white race and should control them from now on...

This is only a very brief sketch of their world view.

The style and content of a Rastafarian ritual performance vary at least according to the scale and the nature of each group led by a brother who takes the initiative, and the aim of gathering. Some examples of a few groups are shown briefly.

2. THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church had eight branches and two missions (sub-branches) in the island at the time of my research.² It holds "strengthening" relations with the Oriental Orthodox Churches. The Church was invited to preach Christianity both by the Jamaican government and established Christian churches since 1970 with the intention of incorporating Rastafarians under the Christian umbrella. Enticed by its name and uniqueness of everything, much more than eight thousand Jamaicans have been baptised. However, from some tens to around a

hundred in average may attend regular Sunday services. About half of the attendants are females, and only a few seem to be from above the lower class.

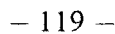
The liturgy of Sunday worship service is patterned fundamentally after one in Ethiopia, with simplification and changes. The order and process are determined and adhered to. There is no strict scheduling of time of commencement and duration of the ritual. English is used instead of Amharic or Ge'ez although several passages in the original language in the liturgical book (*The Liturgy of Ethiopian Orthodox Church – Extracts*) have been taught and used during the ritual.³ The required equipment, not to mention “the ark of the covenant” (*Tabot*) and ornaments, are located appropriately in the church building, which used to be built of wood and bamboo but were later rebuilt of concrete. Ritual specialists (*Abuna* [bishop], priests, deacons), musical specialists (instrumentalists and choirs), and other officers at entrances take their positions and play respectively fixed roles.

Some similarities are seen in terms of placement between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jamaica and one traditional in Ethiopia, though there are differences. Some differences are seen, for example, in the shape of the building (circular and octagonal in Ethiopia, rectangular in Jamaica) and the internal structure (in Ethiopia, divided in three concentric rings: (1) *Maqdas* or Sanctuary in the innermost part with the *Tabot*, exclusively for priests and deacons; (2) *Keddist* for communicants, with men and women separated; (3) *Qene Mahlet* for cantors with three subdivisions. The western part is for the *Debteras*.) In addition, three doors are placed to the east, north and south. Though the direction is different from the Jamaican case, the pattern of usage have been followed. In the original Jamaican Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the right hand and back entrances were used by women only, while the left and the back ones were by men. In the new church, two entrances on the right were used exclusively by women and those on the left, by men. Whereas in Ethiopia, only the south door is used by women, and the others may be used by men (see DIA—GRAM VII).⁴

In the church in Jamaica, males should enter from and sit on the long wooden benches on the left side as they face the front, where the *Tabot* is placed. Boys must be well-mannered in front of adult males. Females, on the other hand, should enter from and sit on the right side. Girls are in the front. Especially children's attitudes and behaviour during ritual are always under control by “officers” with sticks as overseers at entrances (DIAGRAM VII). The place for the choir is set for the front at the right, facing the altar at the centre.

The garments and belongings of ritual performers including the choir are decorative. Headdresses and robes vary according to the hierarchy and role during the ritual. The choir members put on green robes and headdresses with some embroidered design of red and gold/yellow (and white). The headgear of the officiators is black. The bishop's attire was dark grey or white. White (some with red sash cords), claret

Basic Internal Structure of the Church/“Tabernacle”
(The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and The Ethiopian International Congress)



and light blue were used for priesthood and deaconhood. A golden ornamented cross may be hung from the neck. All laymen are expected to dress in white with long sleeves. Women are supposed to cover the head in white. (N.B. Dressing in white with long sleeves and covering head [in white] are practised among many Christians in Jamaica. This "tradition" is seen predominantly observed among the lower-class pious churchgoers. While dressing up may not be required, at least neatness is recommended. Implicit rules on clothes or appearance may arouse disputes and exhortations over some kinds of deviation or improper attitudes from a supposed-to-be image at respective churches.) Many members hang self-made crosses from the neck.

Except chanting hymns of praise, cantillation or making responses (reading the liturgical book), congregations are supposed to keep quiet. According to the kind of celebration or aim, some patterned behaviour is included for the congregation: for instance, a few kinds of bowing and prostration, confession (to the *Abuna* or priest in the front), taking the Eucharist (children first), musical procession on Christmas Eve, being washed one's feet on Palm Sunday (i.e., the *Abuna* and a priest or deacon "wash" feet of the whole congregation by dipped leaves).

Some ritual acts and processes seem to let congregations feel something special in comparison with other established Christian liturgies, particularly those performed by the clergy. The altar is decorative, and the clergy bow down to it. A tall embellished cross is carried in a high priest's hands around the Ark and proceeded through each line of congregations from the front left to the back (male side), and went to the right back, then to the front (female side). Burnt incense in the vessel is carried by the *Abuna* and swung through the pews in the same order (from the male line to the female) while blessing them. Water may be sprinkled over them so that they may bow. The pictures on the front wall reflect Ethiopian traditions.

In general, it may be said that many of the members and latecomers have been attracted rather by the attributes of the Church (name, tradition, or connection with Ethiopia and Orthodox Christianity, liturgy and ritual performance, etc.) than by its leader(s), and his (their) charisma, personality and leadership.

3. THE ETHIOPIAN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS⁵

The Ethiopian International Congress are somewhat organised, especially in comparison with most Rastafarian groups. Its leader, the charismatic elder who dresses in a long Rasta-coloured robe, "Prince" Edward Emmanuel, has been known as one of the distinguished leaders among Rastafarians for a long time. Though he tried to organise his followers and set up churches in the slums in and near downtown Kingston, several raids and persecutions from the police made this difficult. In the course of such tribulations, his group decided to wear turbans to hide the

troublesome dreadlocks which have given the public “ominous” and “dirty” impressions. Some even claim that dreadlocks are too holy to be shown. They have come to be called “Bobos” with certain friendliness because of “cleanliness”, quietness with recognised efforts/diligence to support themselves.

Now his small community, surrounded by wooden walls, is set up upon a rather secluded pebbly hill named Zion. It is studded with small self-made huts which are built of lumber and bamboo or with sheet zinc (for roofs with stones on them) and supplemented by cardboard. Some are for dwelling, and others for worship services, school, storing valuables (musical instruments, pictures related to Garvey and Selassie, with Biblical messages, banners, etc.), kitchen, women’s house (seclusion for menstration), and a waiting place. Flags including one of the United Nations flutter. All are painted in Rasta colour.

Since the community has been squatted by cast-out slum dwellers, no Rastafarian of the well-off will intend to join, only vagrants. Water is available down a steep hill to a standpipe. There are many other inconveniences and rather severe regulations and restrictions, especially for females, within the community. For example, every order, prescription and rule should be given from Prince Emmanuel, living like a hermit, and must be obeyed, for “he is god”. (Any visitor, once opening the gate, should follow the rules.) One basic principle is to share communally and lead a spiritual life. Hence, income obtained by selling rubber slippers, straw mats and brooms made by men and some sewing by women is exchanged for some daily consumers’ goods such as soap. Food is shared, too. Members should abstain from private property except for requisite personal effects.⁶ Natural (“ital”) food is cooked by so-called unblemished members by turns. Menstruous women are to be avoided. “No woman is supposed to expose her flesh,” and she is expected to wear long sleeves and long shirts as well as headdresses. Yet, women climb the hill to attend rituals to become “pure” or see a boyfriend. They must be attractive to some because they are known as decent Rastas with good manners. They greet one another with a right hand on the left chest saying “my lord” and “blessed” and in addition, bow low to the “Prince”.

Rituals are supposed to be performed in a rectangular wooden “holy tabernacle” (DIAGRAM VII). Those who wish to enter the community, and in fact, anyone who shows certain respect for them, can participate in as long as they follow their requirements. They keep the sabbath lasting from Friday evening to Saturday evening modelling after a “Jewish tradition” in the Bible. All the members should chant and “reason”, offering thanksgiving and ceaseless praises all day long both in the “tabernacle” and outside it. By “reasoning”, they mean communal as well as personal argument or testimony quoting assumed Biblical passages for persuasion. The subject matter varies from cosmological to worldly affairs inclusive of sociopolitical matters. They are fond of consecrating many things especially related to rituals,

saying “holy” and “natural”.

A usual sabbath ritual begins without any formality. The ritual time and duration are loose. When drumming by three males begins, other members are signalled to be ready for the ritual, though they do not necessarily arrive immediately. It seems only for special occasions that the clergy dress up with long robes of Rasta colour [Pictures 3 and 4]. Other members may come in ordinary clothings. For a while until majority of the members gather, flag-bearers at four entrances on each side of the “tabernacle” dance or stamp to the drum beats. The basic style and content of the sabbath performance is followed after Christian (Protestant) traditions. Protestant hymnody is looked upon with definite lyrical changes as shown in Chapter VI. Hails to “Jehoviah Jah Rastafari” facing the east are collectively chorused during relatively long prayers by the clergy and at the end of chanting and praising. Congregations may dance, that is, move their bodies and arms with some jumping steps while they chant: otherwise, they sit on benches in line. The preacher or officiant lines out a hymn when the memory of congregations tend to be escaped. The content of the preaching is an adaptation of the unique combination of Christian doctrines and a rehash of black identity or Garveyism.

4. THE TWELVE TRIBES OF ISRAEL

The Twelve Tribes of Israel is a relatively newly founded group, led by a middle-aged man called “Gad”, identified with one of the names of the twelve tribes.⁷ It has won growing popularity in recent years, attracting many youth and comparatively well-to-do Rastafarians who had not belonged to any distinguished group. The group is big and yet loosely organised. Membership is easily attained with a belief in Selassie, as observed in any Rastafarian group. Only in order to realise the plan to “repatriate” to Ethiopia are monthly dues (20 cents) collected, which in turn makes them feel a sense of belonging and responsibility.

It has thirteen trusted followers, who represent the twelve tribes and a lately added Dinah (Jacob’s daughter, whose name means “vindicated” in Hebrew). Every member is assigned to one tribe according to the month of his birth. Modelling after the ancient Israelite calendar, whose first month falls on April, the tribe of Reuben is identified with those born in April. The elected head of each tribe, according to some members, is supposed to guard all classified members, sometimes having a reasoning session or visiting them. All members are equal but different in role performance.

Each tribe represents symbolically physical organs of the body of Christ. They are: Reuben – eyes, Simeon – ears, Levi – nose, Judah – heart (head of the church), Issachar – shoulder, Zebulun – belly, Dan – back, Gad – private parts,

Asher – leg(s), Naphtali – knee(s), Joseph – arm(s), Benjamin – foot (feet). Dinah represents tongue, and Judah expresses through her. Each tribe is interpreted to *control* or master and gifted in its respective organ, which seems to be derived from the blessing by Jacob to his sons (cf. Genesis 49).

All the members are encouraged to read a chapter of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation (strictly this order) every day. However, they are not restricted by any such organisational doctrine or principle in interpretation. Individualism in attitudes and behaviour seems to be allowed even in a collective ritual, as in a monthly meeting. Probably because also of its numerousness usually in a big space, Gad's and other officiates' voices are amplified by microphones. As only a limited number of gatherers can see the speakers clearly, direct communication is not to be said to be established at a satisfactory level, or it may not always be expected.

Eating, lying down on mats, or sleeping are tolerated. As many come from afar, some on foot, some others by motorcycles, and others by buses, minibuses or even cars, they may be late. A good few may leave by adjournment next morning. The fixed time cannot be set both for beginning and end. It usually lasts a whole night, and some vendors of "ital" foods station themselves to provide such as peanuts, bread, biscuit, chocolate, candy, soft drinks as well as "cigar" (ganja).

Attendants are expected to be more serious in attitude and behaviour at least during the preaching, chanting and "important" announcement. Some pretend to be indifferent while a few may chide order-breakers. In general, they tend to be free in worshipping, praising, thanksgiving, listening to the officiates, etc. as well as enjoying communication among acquaintances. While Gad is regarded as a prophet, hence through his voice, God's voice, gatherers do not always listen to him. During the performance, it is easy to observe chuckling, laughing, talking, quarrelling among friends or acquaintances.

Nevertheless, each member has a strong, proud identity as a member of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. It may be because of a unique knitted tam of Rasta colour with a black marching lion⁸ in the front, partly because of an anthem (introduced later), partly because of the partly realised repatriation scheme (Rastafarians' settlement has been built in Sheshemani not so far away from Addis Ababa)⁹, or because the group is expanding rapidly and "successfully".

Its organisational side has become more effective in holding relatively large-scale functions, more social than religious, such as dance parties and reggae theatre. While dancing or stamping to the rhythm is not peculiarly seen in a monthly meeting, many enjoy various types of dancing of more sexy kinds seen in reggae parties. In such rather social gatherings, reasoning sessions are active, accelerated also by ganja spliffs where the whole, ceremonialism is least observed.

It is virtually impossible to exhaust the list of special features of other groups related to ritual performance. The above mentioned groups are comparatively organised with individual distinctions. A few others, such as the Theocratic Government and the Rastafarian Movement Association have held various sorts of meetings whose nature are semireligious and semisociopolitical (for they are inseparable). Nonetheless, basic ritual gatherings seem possible to be distilled out as a bynghi grounation. And in reality, though a group may grow and become a large organised association, it still has to perform a bynghi in order to confirm their faith-based identity, to enjoy musical and verbal communication, released from daily burdens and frustration, to “reason” with spliffs, and to share communal values and their concretised attitudes and behaviours, otherwise not obtained in their ordinary living contexts. And most importantly, ritual without music is hardly seen.

B. (NYA) BYNGHI MUSIC IN PERFORMANCE

1. BASIC ELEMENTS

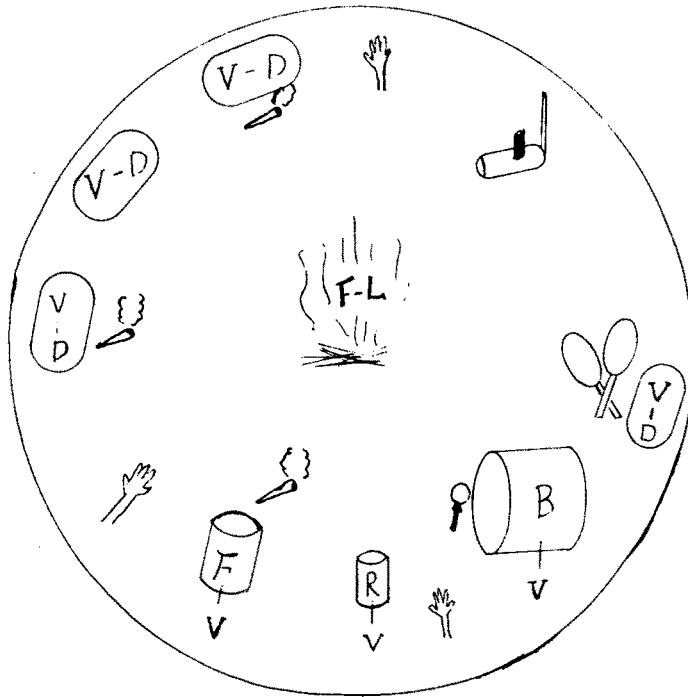
[DIAGRAM VIII] shows the basic elements for Nyabyngghi musical performance, which in other words are identical naturally with those for its performance as a ritual. They signify singers, drummers (on fundeh, repeater, bass drums), other instrumentalists (shakka/maraca etc. players), and as the physical substance except musical instruments, ganja and fire or light (as a performance is usually held at night).

At least three brethren are required for drumming: one for each type of drum, which is also common. Only a fundeh may be played by more than two,¹⁰ because of the simplicity and the centrality of its rhythm pattern for one reason. (In fact, the quality of performance does not matter very significantly.) Hence any Rastaman with a drum, though not many, can and will join in as long as he knows he can follow even changing speed of the ongoing session.

More than two shakkas or other percussive instruments may be played casually. Hand clapping is spontaneous but not so dominantly seen. Singers and clappers are not separately formed, but anyone present, including instrumentalists, can sing and clap. The frequency of drummers, particularly repeater and bass players for chanting is relatively low. When drumming culminates, their concentration will be focussed on rhythm. In dancing too, anyone can participate, excepting drummers again. (A fundeh drummer, if he can be replaced by another, may sometimes stand up and dance to show himself.) Ganja is smoked as a cigar or by a water pipe and may be shared by many brethren, passed round. Participants might form a circle so that they can see one another.

[DIAGRAM VIII]

Basic Elements for Nyabyngghi Musical Performance



 ... Voice (chanting) and dance

 ... Fundeh drum

 ... Repeater drum

 ... Bass drum

 ... Maraca/shakka or any percussive instrument

 ... Fire or light

 ... Ganja

 ... Clapping

Drums are considered the most important instruments and the most needed elements of all. Without them, a bynghi does not begin, nor does one function. The importance of drums is also reflected in their placement: either they are placed to be seen by many near the centre, or close to the most important or "sacred" place. (The latter case is typically observed in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Ethiopian International Congress.)

2. SOME CHARACTERISTICS

No formal beginning and ending characterise a primordial bynghi performance. Commencement of drumming tells its opening, prepares gatherers spiritually and physically and invites neighbours. It usually begins when main drummers *feel like* playing together, observing their conditions as well as others'. Drumming begins from fundeh beating, next bass, and then from fundeh rhythm pattern, repeater uniqueness is added, and a whole ensemble is formed.

The duration of this first drum ensemble is flexible according to the situation of each performance. It may be joined by other instruments. This introduction seems to function in a same way as a prelude in church services. Whereas at the same time, the religiosity of a bynghi must be forgotten during its performance, it can be enjoyed for its recreational purposes.

After enjoying the introductory drum ensemble for a while, a brother or brothers casually begin to chant. A bynghi chant begins without a fixed note but any easily and naturally produced sound by the singer(s). And soon afterwards, some others join in. Songs may continue one after another as if they were a medley, or a long intermission may come either with percussive sounds primarily of drumming or without.

As long as the fundeh pattern is played, a performer may stop and change to another position. Change of role performance is not rarely seen perhaps excepting the repeater part, which is still enjoyed. He may stand up to prepare for another ganja, or rest or gather chatting. Reasoning may be incorporated both during and after a series of musical session.

When and how they end seem to depend also upon the performers' senses and sentiments. A chief drummer seems to check other fellow drummers by eyes and facial expressions (only infrequently with verbal communication) during performance. In reality, they must communicate among themselves by instrumental sounds, too, though to what extent they can do is unknown objectively. Many performances appear to end without any obvious sign or signal.

Characteristics of musical structure probably reflect Nyabyngghi performance as a collective ritual function, as seen in short phrases, simple melody lines, relatively

narrow vocal range and many refrains. They certainly function for everyone to remember them easily so that the sense of communal participation is not only maintained but heightened. They are structured to increase emotionality accompanied by loudness and faster tempo between the beginning, relatively quiet, moderate and steady, and the similar ending.

The quality of drumming certainly determines (perhaps more significantly than any other element) the quality of the whole bynghi performance, though the aesthetic criteria are not set clearly. The fundeh drumming, leading the entire pace, of which rhythm should sound steady enough: if employed plurally, it is supposed to be in unison rather than dispersed. If a performer disturbs the ongoing pace, he will have to give up continuing sooner or later, urged by groans particularly of fellow drummers or by halfway discontinuance by the rest of the performers.

However, if a bynghi is open on a family base or very small scale, and if unfortunately, no musically talented Rastaman is included, everyone has to be satisfied with a given performance however low in skills of drumming (a time lag in rhythm, coarse in sound quality), and tone-deaf (out of harmony, clear forgetfulness in lyrics and filling up by instant improvisation by repetition ad hoc). It is still possible that those present might have no complaint about such a crude performance partly because they would not expect musical superbness in an ordinary bynghi as a get-together with ganja smokes, "reason" freely even to show off one's capacity to "talk like a man" and enjoy "ital" food, while dance to the heartbeat rhythm and hails to Jah Rastafari.

The criteria of "irie" performance are based on the "ridim". However, there are contradictions between the proposed "italism", in this case "African/Ethiopian-ness" as "traditional" or "natural" and their actual performance as creolised and syncretised Africanism reinterpreted within their acculturated values. The former, which reflects their ideas and cosmology, should not be interpreted literally but understood through their real functional performance in a given context. When compared with other musical performances in Jamaica, some common features are observed as in musical quality of tonality, harmonisation, scales, rhythmic-centredness, and instruments used as well as in settings of performance and its function.

Bynghi music is firstly performed as an informal collective offering with thanks to Jah as a vital part of an eventful bynghi. It is held as an extension of daily life, or vice versa. And it is consecrated by a collective performance based on common faith, auditory perception, olfactory sense and freely controllable time. Though artistry is paid attention to by each performer with a pursuit of respective beauty of art and expression of "truth", created sounds do not necessarily seem to reflect their intentions. In addition, audiences' concentration is somewhat diverted from time to time.

On the whole, a Nyabynghi musical performance provides multipurpose functions.

Examples of practicality or physiological functions of drumming are: outlet of frustrations, ill feelings and anxieties; (re)vitalisation of new powers (to live); dissolution of slight physical malaise and indisposition (headache, fever, chill) (Reckord 1977), which may result from both physical and spiritual exercises of drumming. Such exhalation effects accompanied with role performance in both musical and ritual aspects have functioned very positively in fact in sociological senses, too. Daily accumulation of frustration caused in the wider society (particularly jobless, moneyless conditions) are potential for verbal and physical violence, producing a hotbed of crime. Some, if not all, of their suppressed negative power and energy have been sublimated into ritual and musical performance in such occasions as communal bynghi.

3. ROLE DIFFERENTIATION OR CLASSIFICATION

Drummers are usually paid special attention to during performance and sometimes admired. Their roles seem to be identified or expected as "specialists". They play in fact such roles among themselves, however low in skill and poor in knowledge even in comparison to other Jamaicans: thus they may be called "pseudospecialists" just as in their ritual context.

A good repeater performance requires the highest mastery with polished musical talent of technique, speed, timing and sound quality. A repeater player may not be replaced by another. Hence, the players's prestige is located highest. Since its role is attained after a long period of fundeh beating as apprenticeship, not only skill but knowledge (understanding) is presumed to be richest (deepest), as shown in DIAGRAM IX.

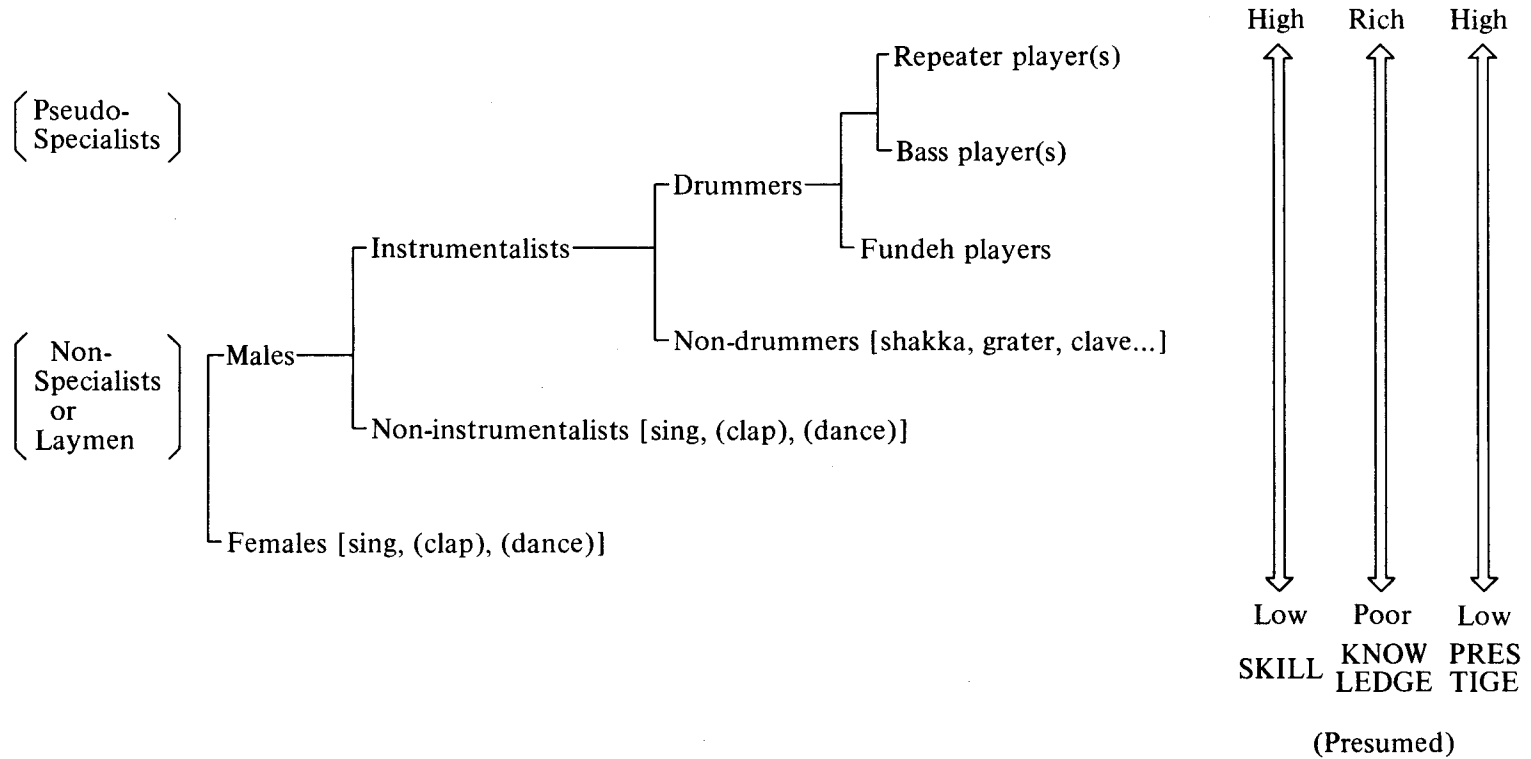
Other percussive instruments should be played with some skills in order not to disturb the whole sound. Their key rhythm is basically the same as the fundeh's, which is very important. However, since drum sounds are much more desired, their significance comes next to drums.

Women rarely take up instruments but contribute mainly as singers and less frequently as dancers. No prestige can be attached to those who do what anyone can do. Hence women's status is low in performance in general (DIAGRAM IX); their status and role are also derived from the Rastafarian cosmology based on "extreme" interpretations of the Biblical passages.

On the whole, there are no full-time specialists of music and ritual. However, a recognised and approved distinction, is observed during a performance, though not necessarily decisive, between so-called specialists and non-specialists or laymen. It is the late Count Ossie who could be called a specialist both in name and reality; however after his death, no one has come out to take his place. Only pseudospecialists

[DIAGRAM IX]

Basic Classification of Nyabyinghi Music Performers



who are mostly found among drummers, tend to hold leadership or gather high prestige with knowledge, all in relative proportion. Some exceptions are seen even in main groups,¹¹ however, this basic classification might be applied in ritual situations. Discontent was not heard with each role function and suitability of allotted personalities, but rather with the quality of a given role performance.

4. SYMBOLISM

Symbolic interpretation as well as meaning to oneself varies according to the individual. Only what seems to be shared with a relatively high consensus is introduced in this monograph.

Rastafarians have many symbolic binary oppositions, most of which are derived from Biblical passages. Meanings of other sources may also be interpreted in Biblical texts with sophistry whether allegorical or not. The depth of interpretation is dependent upon individual knowledge or familiarity of the Book, however inadequate or inappropriate each exegesis might be. (Cultural options are frequented together with a disregard for historical contexts.) Those appeared in some favourite or popular lyrics are shown in DIAGRAM XI in Chapter VI with their interpreted meanings explained in the text (cf. Nagashima 1981d, 1982 [1981a]).

Of the basic requisites for a bynghi performance shown in DIAGRAM VIII, a typical example may be light or fire in contrast with darkness or night. While the former represents a Rastafarian world, the latter, non-Rasta or the Jamaican situation. As for fire, "consuming" fire that is to burn out evil may be sometimes in association, inspired by an image of God as justice in the Old Testament. During a bynghi chanting, some ejaculations of "Fire!" may be heard among brethren. "Brimstone!" and "Lightning!" may also be cried in almost the same context and meaning, being regarded as God's sign.) When a shout of "Fire!" is intended at someone, it means similar to "Nyabynghi!" or "Babylon!".

Ganja¹² has varieties of cryptic words and bynames according to its "class" and usage as well as to whom one speaks, each with some symbolism; for instance, kali, sencimina/cersemilla, Mary, kaya, chalice, cigar, spliff, grass, stuff, and the like. Holiness and mysteriousness are regarded as attributes of ganja thanks to both its mesmeric and stimulative effects upon the nervous system when smoked or swallowed for general cure. Holiness is derived from the Old Testament. "Holy weed" is interpreted to have the power for "healing of the nation" and to "give wisdom". Its fragrance is contrasted with that of rum used during other Afro-Jamaican rituals. It is considered a means of communication between Jah and brethren and one among themselves.

Drums have richer symbolism than other instruments. All instruments are basical-

ly natural products using wood, bamboo, gourd, grass, pebbles, seeds, pods, animal skin, etc. Nature is highly praised, though only a small number of Rastas regard it holy. Symbolic meanings are attached rather in instrumental *sounds* than substances themselves. The fundeh beats, the most important and essential movement and sound of life, symbolise the pulse and heartbeat. It is also identified symbolically as the life and heartthrob of Selassie himself so that they feel him both near and *within* themselves. “Ridim” creation, the essence of a performance, is further considered as the roots of Rasta, of Africa and of all black people.

Symbolic interpretation of drums’ origin may be roughly categorised into three: (1) Africa/Ethiopia, (2) black people and culture, (3) Bible and ancient Israel (from “the original from creation” to “David’s instrument”). The combination of all the three means Rastafarian roots. When drumming ensemble goes to the acme, chanting tends to fade away so that the powerful and masculine rhythmic sounds can be enjoyed with infatuation. Improvisatory ejaculations as half-unconscious response to the drum feast may be inserted, and the instrumentalists get revibration in turn.

As is mentioned before, rich symbolism seen in their forefathers’ land is almost lost among Rastafarians. Male principle seen in drum culture, though controversial, may be an example. According to Ossie’s explanation (Reckord 1977), male goat skin is the best because male goats are more quiet and his bleats sound low. The same is for a fundeh. A repeater needs a female goat’s skin. Another explanation goes that softness and smoothness of a female goat’s will produce sensitive sounds, thus fit for a repeater’s “talk”. Nevertheless, the drum ensemble is not necessarily symbolised as the union of a man and a woman.

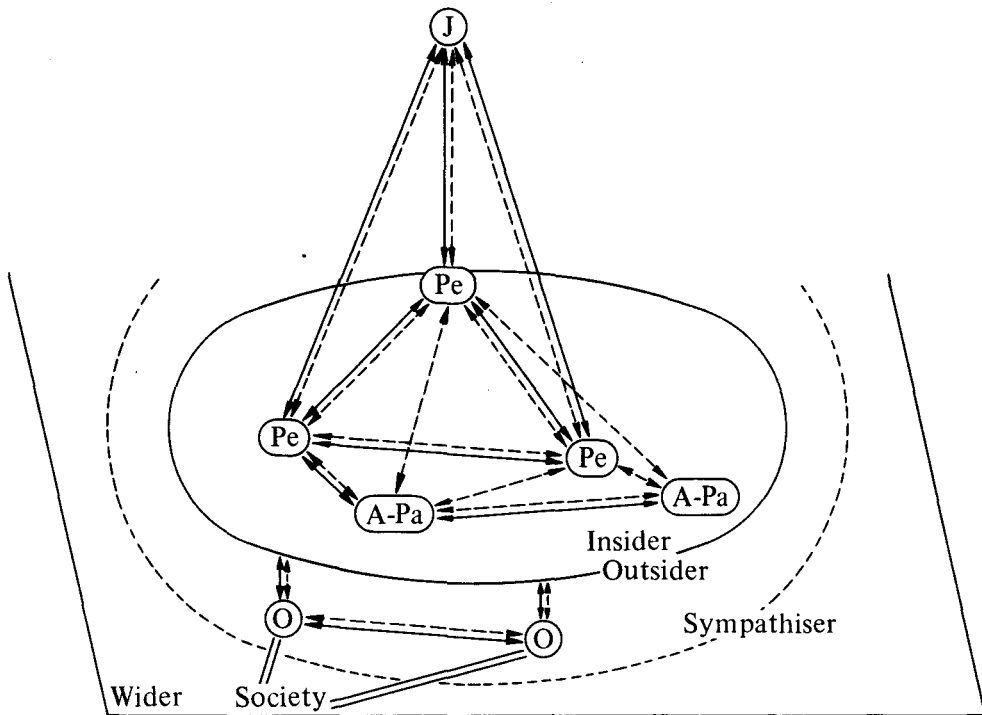
And yet through chains of symbolic association, the dominance of male principle is recognised, approved and even stressed occasionally both by brethren and “sistren”. Its emphasis is reflected in their role performance, justified by majority rule and an absolute authority, the Bible. Furthermore, this principle has been advocated as an ought-to-be and the “natural” rule to be obeyed in contrast with *seemingly* powerful female principle practised commonly in Jamaica, as typically seen in matrifocality.

5. COMMUNICATION

A bynghi performance has functioned also to provide free, open settings for communication.¹³ It is an intended communication base among acquainted Rastafarians and additional newcomers. The gathering, participation, and interaction among performers, audience and onlookers as a communication event is schematised in DIAGRAM X. Some larger and more organised meetings have also functioned to emphasise the communication flow from leader(s) to others.

[DIAGRAM X]

A Model of Basic Communication Flows
during a Nyabyinghi Performance



J Jah
 Pe Performer
 A-Pa Audience-Participant
 O Onlooker
 ————— Direct Interaction/Communication
 - - - - - Indirect Interaction/Communication

Performers expect audience to respond/react. Since they are keen observers even when they appear to concentrate on their own performances, they can intuitively perceive others' reactions. The higher the degree of participation and cooperation they can perceive, the greater their satisfaction or dissatisfaction and desire or will to continue or discontinue further inter-communication. Its openness, freedom and casualness want voluntary participation and positive reactions not only from regular role performers but also from outsiders. Polysemy of a bynghi leads to multiformity and multiplexity of role performances and interaction or communication (processes) and individual sensibility together with cognition.

NOTES

1. When I was told "in the afternoon" for the commencement time, it was actually around three o'clock. This example might possibly show their faithfulness to the Jewish tradition or that of the early Christianity (cf. Acts 2:15, 3:1, 10:3) rather than their casualness or loose in the sense of time ("Jamaica time").
2. Most of the time I attended the Holy Trinity Church, the first foundation and the headquarters, which is situated on 89 Maxfield Avenue, Kingston 13. A considerable number of Rastafarians refuse to admit them as true Rastafarians, because this church is attached to the established Christian Church, which most Rastafarians detest.
3. In Ethiopia while Amharic is now an official and vernacular language, Ge'ez has been used in the liturgy as the ancient classical and liturgical language. Today, however, the readings and certain portions of the liturgy are in Amharic (The Ethiopian Orthodox Church 1970:67).

In Jamaica, a church school is open to teach basic Amharic as well as Orthodox doctrines for novices, applicants for baptism, and for anyone. All members are supposed to have elementary knowledge of these; however, school attendance and the level of their understanding seems to be poor. A day (basic) school is also open to children for elementary education with bits of Amharic practises.

The church has tried several other organisational projects such as bakery, in order to help self-dependency of the church, to promote (the spirit of) brotherhood and cooperation, through which additional members would be hopefully recruited. Because of economic hardships attacking the members, the financial condition of the church has increased its problems of management.

4. Further, "those of the congregation who feel particularly unclean ritually stand

in the churchyard throughout the service. Often there are as many people, if not more, in the churchyard as in the church... The church precincts and the surrounding wall are considered sacred, therefore who remain outside the church during the service are considered to have attended church. (This idea seems to be transmitted to Jamaica.) ... The traditional ... church contains no seats ... Rush mats may be spread upon the floor and it is customary to remove one's shoes before entering the church. (This was practised by a few congregations in Jamaica.) As the services are lengthy, prayer-sticks ... are provided for the *Debteras* and for elderly or important members of the congregation to lean upon. However the truly devout may refuse to make use of a prayer-stick during the service and a few exceptionally pious people may try to mortify the flesh by standing upon one leg only throughout the service" (*ibid.* : 65–66. My comments are in parentheses.)

5. The present "official" name is "Ethiopian African International Congress the People above all Organization Governmental Parliamentary Churchical and Statecal" [*sic*]. They live in Bull Bay, Nine Miles (9 miles east of Kingston).
6. Certain belongings which appear to be "luxurious", for instance, a transistor radio, seem to be allowed so that it may be shared.
7. Gad is also a name of a prophet under the reign of King David. In the present context in Jamaica, the role of a "prophet" gives the key importance and more powerful symbolic meanings to the members than the phrase "under the reign of King David".
8. The lion, the king of the beasts, is a symbol of Africa, especially of Ethiopia, hence the Emperor. Selassie himself used to tame a lion in his palace.
9. According to a member who just returned from a one-and-a-half-year stay in Ethiopia, the development land called Shashamane (ca. 250 km from Addis Ababa) which was "granted" by Haile Selassie, seemed to be inhabited by only six Twelve Tribes members then. It was not clear what had happened to the previous inhabitants whom *The Daily Gleaner* reported on (cf. *The Daily Gleaner*, Sept. 30, Oct. 12, 17, 1969.). The land seemed still fertile. The informant left Jamaica in early December 1976 with the other eleven "tribes" (actually one member from each of the twelve tribes) and a girl (she was not counted as a tribe); six people stayed. At present, only the Twelve Tribes, or their leader Gad, among the Rastafarians attempts to "repatriate physically". Even though they entered Ethiopia with tourist visas, their intention was to cultivate the land so that anyone could settle. However, they encountered serious problems, for example of finance, skills, and labour force even if they did not have to worry

about food. Since this scheme is still far from launching yet, even the term “repatriation programme” may not be appropriate.

10. Probably only in such a group that is relatively matured in musical performance as the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari, two repeater drummers play together with both independence and mutual recognition, listening and responding to each other. One brother called “Time”, a son of the late Count Ossie, the Jamaican “master drummer”, is undoubtedly an expert and specialist, while the level of the others’ performance is comparatively low.
11. Even in main groups exceptions are seen, for example, in Ethiopian Orthodox Church (E.O.C.), Ethiopian International Congress (E.I.C.), and Mystic Revelation of Rastafari (M.R.R.). In E.O.C., some women are included among choir members; and the choir (including instrumentalists) instructor, Cedric Brooks, does not play drums in the church. In E.I.C., Prince Emmanuel seems to be too old to play instruments in the tabernacle. (He does not attend the sabbath worship in the tabernacle regularly.) Three youngsters have taken the position of drummers, but they cannot be called specialists considering that roles are differentiated and allocated to each to be performed accordingly. In a sabbath service, a shakka may be shaken by a lay brother, while in a Christmas service, specially dressed seven priests shook one on each hand [Picture 3]. In M.R.R., “philosopher” brother Sam Clayton is a coordinator and an orator of the group but plays the tambourine (and other percussive instruments).
12. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Ethiopian International Congress do not use it during a ritual. Though they have been persecuted, arrested and fined because of it, at least during a bynghi, no harassment is evident probably because a bynghi has come to establish a name of ritual gathering backed by the slogan “freedom of belief”.
13. An open-minded group may not refuse “guests” of whom some members join in even during a performance. However, such outsiders’ sounds, rhythm and tempo should follow the entire ridim. The performers and audiences there not only would not show dissatisfaction but even might be pleased with a new participant, showing them by facial expressions and nodding so that the performers would know. And after a series of musical performance, the original members may show new participants by verbal approval, attitudes and/or facial expressions.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXPRESSIONS OF RASTAFARIAN (NYA)BYNGHI MUSIC - REPRESENTATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF RASTAFARIAN COSMOLOGY AND FAITH THROUGH LYRICS

It is impossible to cover all the Rastafarian songs because of innumerable variations and improvisations. The problem is highlighted by the process of borrowing favourite melody lines and substituting certain original words for the singers' own. Each group of Rastafarians basically maintains some peculiarities through the twisted threads of the common characteristics. This section is a descriptive explanation of the most popular bynghi music, examining some distinctive groups, since it was from this type of musical realm that more famous pop kinds of music customarily considered as Rasta were born.

A. SOME CHARACTERISTICS AND EXAMPLES

The popular expressions are doxology, benediction, thanksgiving, faith, and wishes with cherished themes such as glory, peace and love, and repatriation. The characteristics as a whole depend on the objective of a gathering. If a meeting is for a commemoration, high-spirited affirmation and joy, with down-to-earth stamping and an almost wild dancing are shared. In such high "irie"¹ periods are heard solid voices with clear lyrics and strong but rather blurred muttering sounds. The repetition of "ah...", "ay...", and "I..." are not infrequent in raptures.

Sometimes an individual sings different verses (which may be improvisation on the spot) on the same melody line while others keep the leading unison or sing in harmony. This does not cause any confusion at all; instead, it sounds good, natural and amusing, since this is the expression which emerges at the moment.²

Here follows a summary of observations of distinctive tendencies that some of the Rastafarian groups show.

1. THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has functioned as a church in a general sense; therefore, it is classified as "churchical". Their music for Sunday service is not conspicuously different from that of other orthodox Christian churches except the instrumentation and the mood of the entire praise. Drums and percussion instru-

ments³ and also flute are played. The entire atmosphere created by the music is a more African and thus a more authentic Jamaican flavour.

In Ethiopia, *Debteras*, a class of cantors or choristers, assists the services in association with the priests and deacons. "With rhythmic movements, steps and musical accompaniment their performance adds to the beauty of the worship and of special festive celebrations. Their ecclesiastical dance whose origin seems to have been in Egypt, is performed "with solemnity and sanctity" (The Ethiopian Orthodox Church 1970:23, 60–61).⁴ The unique union of church music and dance keep alive part of the ritual in Ethiopia, but this rich tradition was apparently not transmitted to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jamaica. Dancing during ritual is rarely seen in the Jamaican Ethiopian Orthodox Church. And if there is any, it is just swaying the body or tapping feet strongly to the rhythm.

An ordinary English (Protestant) hymnal, *The Sacred Songs and Solos* by Ira D. Sankey, is used instead of the *Degwa* (Ethiopian collection of hymns), which is attributed to St. Yared of the sixth century. They begin by vocals sung by some of the choir members and a few members of the congregation who remember the verses. And then the parallel third harmonisation. Most of the congregation sing from memory.

Different kinds of lyrical variations are heard to a small extent. For example, change of pronunciation occasionally takes place. "Jesus Christ" is pronounced [dʒésəs krístəs] or [dʒésəs kràist] by some members. Other distinctions, if they happen, are minor. They merely represent the individual expression of the encounter and identification with Jah while they sing.

I have observed an interesting musical event as a ritual which appeared to be characteristic to them. On one Christmas Eve, the musical procession was performed with a candle or a torch light in hand except instrumentalists. Choir members at the head of a procession, everyone walked in a line, singing hymns. The procession started from the centre of the church near the Ark, went straight forward to the outside and rounded the church clockwise to the back entrance and went back to the original position (see DIAGRAM VII in Chapter V and Picture 22).

Though their musical quality may not be of high standard, it is quite possible to become better sooner or later. The expression may change as well, for a few prominent musicians are the members of the church, like Cedric Brooks and Rita Marley (wife of the late Bob Marley). The former is appointed as the leader of the choir.

2. THE ETHIOPIAN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

The Ethiopian International Congress are regarded also very churchical. Their music is believed to be "sacred" as was mentioned in Chapter II. They employ only

the three drums, bass, fundeh, and repeater, and a few percussion instruments. The Sankey hymnal is used also. The congregation sing from memory.

This group shows salient change of pronunciation and word substitution.⁵ “Jesus” is pronounced [dʒésəs] again. “Rastafari” and “Selassie-I” are [rastə faɪrāi] and [selasie ai] respectively. To stress the “I” concept. “God” is interchangeable with “Jah”, “Jeḥoviah”, “King”, “Negus”, and “I-an’-I” (or “I-n’-I”), and so is “Christ.” “Zion” means “the heaven”, or the “Kingdom of Jah”.

Because they despise “so-called Christianity”, they have tried to disassociate themselves from established Christianity. This type of substitution and alteration is one of their efforts to stump the (association with the) establishment. That is why they are pleased with and good at manipulating the vocabulary and the imagery at their own disposal. The neoterism based upon “italism”⁶ is inlaid within the range of the Rastafarian cosmology, and so with the musical expression.

Their songs are simple, short and repetitive. They reiterate the same verses usually more than a couple of times until the “priests” signal to the “prophets” and the “priestesses” (i.e. the whole congregation) to stop. The following example was repeated five times. It was when the entire atmosphere was in a state of culmination that the participants were almost shouting:

(Ex. 1)⁷ .

Sailing, sailing, sailing
sailing, I am sailing,
(Ah seh) sailing, sailing, sailing,
Sailing, I am sailing,
On de Black Star Line
King Jesse-us [Jesus] nebba* hide
Away this love from us
So I am sailing
On de Black Star Line
King Jesse-us nebba* hide
De gospel, trut(h) from us

*“nebba” = never

This song reflects a clear mixture of Garveyism (cf. “sailing” and “Black Star Line”) and some Christian doctrines. They express the faith and desire in the repatriation by means of an imaginary Black Star Liner, or any transportation that can fulfill their dream. Their community commands an excellent view including the sea to the south. They believe a ship is coming from “dat”(that) direction, i.e. “Africa”. Their belief in Jesus (Jesse-us), the King (the late Emperor Selassie I) is solid enough to let

them rely on the coming promise in spite of the continuous discouragement. They are waiting and at the same time sailing, for this promise is in the process of fulfillment, because of the existence of the belief. Christianity teaches that God's love and truth will not betray the believers.

Inside the "tabernacle" are hung many outstanding pictures portraying the figure of Marcus Garvey himself and the Black Star Liner, the ship Garvey schemed to repatriate the black diaspora to Africa, and whose venture was crushed later. The Bobos' affection and awe to Garvey are very strong. They regard him as a symbol of "great prophet" whose spirit has been reincarnated into other very important leaders including the previous Ugandan president, Idi Amin, to fight for the black people in the world.

Another very popular song type is that of praise expressing joys.

- (Ex. 2)⁸ Joy, joy, joy, Rastafari
Joy in Man [Mt.] Zion wid King Rastafari
1. Joy, joy, joy,
Oh, w(h)en de prodigal son return.
Far(For) (h)I won't die an' (h)e roll(s) t(h)under
- An' de (h)angel read a record
(H)appy news (h)I bring, (h)Et(h)iopian sing
Joy, joy, joy
2. Joy, joy, joy
So w(h)en de Israelites (h)all return
Far(For) (h)I will rise an' (h)eed de t(h)under
- .
- .
- .

This song apparently extols the power of King Rastafari, who brings joy in Mount Zion to their community. As Christians regard their previous (before the confession of their sins and the conversion) self as the "prodigal son", the Bobos inherit the same Biblical interpretation.

Another identification with (Black) Israelites is not peculiar only to the Bobos. Unlike traditional Western Christians, the concept of "Israelites" or/and identity as the Chosen People, God's Elect, and the Children of God is "blackened". These unconventional theology, ideology and historicity are supported not only by the majority of the Rastafarians but a considerable number of black philosophers (and their followers) as well as some Christians who advocate "Black Theology".

3. THE TWELVE TRIBES OF ISRAEL

To solidify their unity, an “Ethiopian national anthem”, their theme song, is always on their lips. This anthem is accompanied with certain military gestures to their lyrics such as stretching a left hand to the north, saluting and putting of that hand on their right chest.

The following is the first verse of the anthem, with a prayer in the last.

(Ex. 3)⁹ Ethiopia, the land of our fathers
The land where all God's to be
As the swift bees to hive suddenly gather
Thy children are gathered to thee
With our red, gold and green floating o'er us
With our Emperor to shield us from wrong
With out God and our future before us
We will hail thee with shouts and with songs

Chorus: God bless our Negus, Negus High
Who keeps Ethiopia free
To advance, to advance
With truth and right, truth and right
To advance, to advance,
With love and light, with love and light
With righteousness leading
We haste to our God and King
Humanity is pleading
One God for us all.

Prayer: One God, one aim, one destiny.
Ethiopia, yesterday, today, and forever.
When I laud and seh,
Jesus was on the planetary 2,000 years ago,
He state(s) us dat[that] harvest is plentiful,
But reapers are few,
So an' the name of our Lord and Saviour that Jesus Christ
Who has now reveal himself to us
In the personality His Imperial Majesty,
We're axing[asking] you to give us
Wisdom, knowledge and understanding
To go out to reap dis[this] great harvest
Selassie I

The essential images of the verses are derived from the adoration and glorification of Ethiopia, their garden of Eden, with a base of Judeo-Christian concepts. It is not clearly known whether the anthem was composed earlier than the repatriation programme or vice versa. However, it is more important to recognise the fact that the anthem is sung in every monthly meeting, and at the same time, the repatriation programme has been gradually realised. The reciprocal influences between the two, at least, seem to work. The anthem has operated effectively in implanting positive images more and beautifully than the reality of Ethiopia. To accomplish repatriation, the very desire of the Rastafarians as a whole requires immensely unmovable faith, continuing hope, undaunted courage, material and spiritual sacrifice, and willing support for the brightest of the invisible future.

These verses mirror the Rastafarian glorification as a group with security, guidance and a bright future. These have stemmed from the “truth and right” and “love and light” assured by their god, the emperor, “Negus High”, “king”. He has bestowed these attributes and righteousness for the sake of the elevation of humanity. The prayer begins by reciting the celebrated Marcus Garvey’s expression. The rest is covered by some Rastafarian idioms in the subterranean Judeo-Christian sea.

Other well-known songs deal with encouragement, affirmation, and realisation of faith and hope. The melodies are generally simple and/or familiar so that there is no difficulty in learning them. Some examples are:

(Ex. 4)¹⁰ 1. Giving, giving, giving your very best
Giving, giving, giving without a rest
We’re happier when we’re giving
It’s then we know we are living

Chorus: So we will give our best
without our rest
And we are filled with true happiness
Oh yea, we’re filled with true happiness

2. Fighting, fighting, fighting through the test
Truth and right must surpass the rest
We’re happier when we’re fighting
When we’re fighting for the right thing.

Chorus:

- (Ex. 5)¹¹
1. We never get weary yet
We never get weary yet
We're down in the valley
For a very long time
And we never get weary yet.
 2. We wanna go to Zion now
We wanna go to Zion now
We're down in the valley
For a very long time
We wanna go to Zion now.
- (Ex. 6)¹²
1. Why not do right and live? (Repeat three times)
Oh, what love can do?
 2. The wages of sin is death (Repeat three times)
Oh, the gift of God is life.
 3. But the gift of God is life.
In Mt. Zion, with King Alpha and Queen Omega
Father and Mother of creation
Halellujah, (Selassie I, Rastafari)

An example of word replacement is presented here. The original song is as follows:
"Daniel throws the stone into Babylon."

- (Ex. 7)
- Reuben throw the stone right into Vatican.
Simeon throw the stone right into Vatican.
Levi....
.
.
.
Joseph....
Benjamin....

Only the first name of each verse is changed according to the twelve tribes of Israel, named after the sons of Jacob.

"Vatican" symbolises the pope and the Roman Catholic. The Rastafarians in general pass strictures upon Romanism, Vaticanism, and whatever is related to these. The reason why they consider them as the avatar of the evil is very complicated. Yet it is understandable if we remember Daniel's deeds in Babylon and Roman Catholics' certain historical evils done unintentionally or intentionally, especially to the under- or uncivilised people.

Their argument is based on religious (and theological), cultural, and psychological

damages. As proud Black Africans, the Rastafarians are ready to refer to the destruction of the original African organism by the white pigs and vultures from the north, the moribund decadence, and the exploitative spirits. The earlier Roman expansion to the Rastafarians, was the desire for the conquest in every sense. Thus Babylon-Vatican must be condemned. Their responsibility as the Twelve Tribes of Israel is to be burning as Daniel was, for the sake of the faith. The collation between the two sets of cant is amusing to the Rastafarians but a total desecration to the Christians. The evils consequent upon the historical blindness was, is, and will be as well as their aftermath.

4. THE THEOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

The Theocratic Government, a “House of Dread”, sometimes holds a large-scale bynghi open to other sections of brethren and non-Rastafarians in a spacious remote place. As the mood of the members is enhanced, shouting often tends to dominate a whole song. This makes the melodic part sound as background music or an accompaniment. This appeared in the following case. The melody lines chanted are indicated by square brackets[]. The rest shows shouts or exclamations of the then feeling and mood of the participants.

(Ex. 8)¹³ Jah! Rastafar-I! Ban Babylon! His Majesty!
 Wicked fe it; Nyabyngi!
 [Zion I want to go]
 Lightening-I, Rastafari! Listen again culturally;
 No weary, Jah Rastafar-I;
 [Rastafari neba tun I down; I-an'-I trone Rastafari
 journey home]
 Woe to those who hear thy word and harden thy heart;
 [Clean thy heart, humble thyself, and brain thy God]
 Leave Babylon and come, without I; I must die;
 [Oh Zion, I want to go]
 Oh, Oh, Zion, I want to go;
 Lightening; A new king must come;
 [Upon I trone Rastafari sit and rule]
 .
 .
 .

Through the love of Zion, Selassie I,
 Nyabynghi, Triumphant; The First Order,
 The order of Melchizedek, Rastafari,
 Jah Rastafari! Weed out transgression!
 Earthquake! Thunder! Love! I-an'-I live in justice;
 Rastafari live; Jah!
 Irie-I! Give t(h)anks and praises to
 His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I,
 Jah Rastafari!...

“His Majesty” = Selassie, “tun” = turn,
 “I-an'-I” = I, you, we, everyone, Rastafarian(s),
 “trone” = throne

This is a medley of their celebrated expressions. Each phrase or sentence sounds chaotically disconnected; however, they know that they need not think about it at all. It is a new music. They *music* sounds and verbalism in this way.

5. MOST POPULAR BYNGHI SONGS.....NONRESTRICTIVE OR NONSECTARIAN

The following are the most popular nonsectarian songs. However, most of the listed songs were alleged to be born among “the Count Ossie and the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari”.

“So Long Rastafari Call You”
 “Rivers of Babylon”
 “Peace and Love”
 “Holy Mt. Zion”
 “Rock a Mine Soul”
 “Goin’ Back to Ethiopia Land”
 “Zion Mi Waan Go Home”
 “You Cannot Get Over Heaven With a Carnal Min’”
 “No Night in Zion”

These songs, though not as well-known as reggae pieces, are known to even non-Rastafarians.

These songs have undergone increasing variations through the years. Any idea that has relevance with the mood and beliefs then and there are welcomed, provided they can harmonise with the original lyrics. The music structure also experiences such an innovation. This is one of the significant reasons why these well-known pieces continue ceaselessly at bynghi.

A typical example is in “So Long Rastafari Call You”.

(Ex. 9)¹⁴ 1. So long Rastafari call you, so long (Repeat)

For the enemy around you (I),
Trying to devour you (I),
So long Rastafari call you, so long.

2. So long Babylon a hold*¹ I, so long (Rep.)

For the enemy around I,
Trying to devour I,
So long Babylon just a hold*¹ I, so long.

3. So long Bābylon just a drag*¹ I, so long (Rep.)

For the rich man dem dem happy,
Do no wan’ give to natty,*²
So long Babylon just a hold*¹ I, so long.

4. So long Babylon a hide*¹ de trut’ from I, so long (Rep.)

<Jah Rastafar-I!>
For dey mek dem a talk de version,
An’ lef’ de King James Version,
So long Babylon a hide*² de trut’ from I, so long.

<No long time, dread?>*³

<Yes-I, seen.>*⁴

5. So long Rastafari call you, so long (Rep.)

<Watch ya breddar, Rasta!>*⁵

<So long Rastafari call you, so long>

So long dem a rule I wid a gun an’ bayonet, so long (Rep.)
For di enemy round I,
Trying to devour I,
Dem a rule*⁶ I long time wid gun an’ bayonet so long (Rep.)

<Jah!>

.
.
.

This stanza is directly inspired by Revelation 22:5: “And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle...” (King James Version).

Another Biblical citation is seen in the hit song, “Rivers of Babylon”, in this case, Psalms 137:1–4:

By the rivers of Babylon,
there we sat down. Yea,
we wept, when we remembered Zion
...
For there they that carried us away captive
required us a song: and they that wasted us
required of us mirth, saying,
Sing us one of the songs of Zion.
How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land?

These passages are clearly woven into a new psalm with modern atmosphere.

(Ex. 13) By the rivers of Babylon
 Where we sat down
 And there we were
 While we remembered Zion
 For the wicked carried us away captivity
 Require from us a song
 How can we sing King Alpha song
 In a strange land
 .
 .
 .

This song has received international acclaim since the hit film *The Harder They Come*, the first one locally produced by Perry Henzel, was exported. The local responses were beyond description.¹⁵ The severe reality and the potent imagery of that ominous slavery drew the black people into the Biblical identity without any stumbling block; and so are the other oppressed people who have experienced slavish status both individually and collectively, physically and spiritually. The Rastafarian knowledge and imagery of African slavery correspond to the Jewish captivity in Babylon in the Old Testament days. Those black Jews, the chosen people of God, were forced into slavery because of sin and disobedience against God. They always wail and recollect Zion, Africa, with lamentation and longing. They are reconciled to this wicked system nailed in Babylon, Jamaica, as God’s punishment. No one wants to sing a song related with God, King, Selassie on such a wretched earth. The

melodic tone itself is bright with a lively rhythm. Yet, because of this, the lyrical content and the true feelings sound ironically deploring, of pathos.

“Rock a Mine Soul”=(rock my soul), pronounced [raka man soul], praises their strong faith,

[illegible]

with interesting, and more moralistic changes (cf. Daniel 3:19–29) such as follows:

Think so low that you can't get under it
(Rep. three times)

Think so high that you can't get over it
(Rep. three times)

...
Shadrach, Meshach and Abendego[Abednego]
(Rep. three times)
Cast dem in de fire, neba get burn

However popular this song might be, it is impossible to mark a distinction from the traditional Christian ideas.

There are still some others that are similar in contradictions or incongruous traits in the lyrical content. Two examples are shown.

(Ex. 15) You < cannot get to Zion wid a carnal min'
can neba get to Zion...
(Rep. twice)
Carnal min' have to stay behin'.
cf. Matthew 5:27–30, 18:7–9; Romans 7:3–13.

(Ex. 16) Is your name written there in Jah Lamb's Book of Life
(Rep. three times)
Will you ask yourself the question?
Is your name written there?
cf. Psalms 69:28; Daniel 12:1; Philippians 4:3;
Revelation 3:5.

The difference between Christianity and Rastafarianism lies, however, in the meaning, symbolism, and objective of the lyrics. Connotation was important. "Zion", for instance, is "heavens" in the original Revival song, or "heavens" in the fundamentalistic Christian idea. For the Rastafarians, "Zion" specifically means Ethiopia, Black Africa, their homeland; not of the sky (some fundamentalism) and not of

Palestine (Judaism). Christians would never think of the African Continent when they say “Zion”. The second song (Ex. 16) is changed merely by one word “Jah”, which has a strong, effective sound and substance from the original without “Jah”. Nevertheless, the value content is the same; just a difference of interpretation.

6. PECULIAR REPATRIATION SONGS

“Zion Mi Waan Go Home” has the strong nostalgia and yearning for Africa, Ethiopia, their home. In this sense it is classified as a repatriation song.

- (Ex. 17)
1. Zion mi waan go home
Oh —, Zion mi waan go home
 2. Africa mi waan fe go
Oh —, Africa mi waan fe go
 3. Take me back to Ethiopia land
 4. Ethiopia lan’ me father’s home

The simplest repatriation song may be “Goin’ Back to Ethiopia Lan’”.

- (Ex. 18)¹⁶
- Goin’ back to Ethiopia lan’ (Rep. three times)
Oh, Rastafari, Oh —, Sehah.

Another similar song, “Send Me Back to Ethiopia”, however, has a more folk-oriented flavour.

- (Ex. 19)
- Send me back to Ethiopia
An’ mek me mark out mi burial spot
‘Cause if I die before de day
My duppy will be going away
...

The Rastafarians do not (or are not supposed to) deal with death and related phenomena. Or more exactly, a considerable number of them do not even believe in physical death. Therefore, when encountering physical death, controversies occur chiefly because they are confused about its interpretation. Sometimes they discuss or “reason” about a specific case and come to a conclusion about what it seems to be.

In extreme cases, when a Rastafarian meets death, he or she is to be stamped a disgraceful (to a Rastafarian) seal such as “non-Rasta”, “anti-Rasta”, “wolf in sheep clothe”, or “carnal Rasta”. Thus they either close the rationale and firmly believe in physical eternal-life; otherwise, they pretend to apprehend the “true” meaning of

life, arrogating the orthodox Christian belief or religious concepts of West Africa. More moderate-minded Rastafarians are able to construct their own idea system with certain theological bases. They are however often regarded as a compromise by most Christians. Intellectuals who have acquired scholastic knowledge tend to hold more rational yet profound religious and theological concepts on this matter. Education is responsible for it.

Generally, Rastafarians do not share a folk belief in a “duppy”, that is, a deceased person’s soul. A duppy may just be called an invisible ghost. As these verses rightly show, a duppy is thought to go back to the original homeland. This song is very Afro-Jamaican rather than Rastafarian. “Ethiopia” could have been “Africa”. A soul is believed to survive forever, overcoming physical death, as in other religious beliefs. In Africa, a soul is supposed to be reincarnated into another physical structure because the life source is the same and that life should continue. The concept of life as a whole and time is not linear but circular.

I do not know the extent of the popularity of this song among the Rastafarians, but it seems to be small. If it is *very* popular, it will be an example-evidence of the closeness between the Rastafarians and other Afro-Jamaicans characterwise and content- or contextwise in religious beliefs including the so-called folk belief.

“Satta (A)masa Gana” by the Abyssinians, a Rastafarian musical group, is one of those who have caught the minds and feelings of both Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians.

(Ex. 20) There is a land far, far away
 Where there’s no night, there’s only day
 Look into the Book of Life and you will see
 That there’s a land far, far away (Repeat)
 The King of kings and the Lord of lords
 Still upon his throne and he rules us all
 Look into the Book of Life, and you will see
 That he rules us all (Repeat)

The slow deploring sound with minor chords are somewhat similar to the blues. The musical technique *per se*— of melody, rhythm, and tone in this case— impels the audience to admit willy-nilly the craving for the lost paradise. The beginning of this tale is, as it were, a Biblical fairyland or a never-never land. The lyrical content is right in the midst of the confirmation of the Rastafarian world, that is, a mysterious synthesis with the Christian concept of Jesus Christ, Rastafarians’ Haile Selassie.

From the lyrical expressions, symbolic binary oppositions are easily extracted as is shown in DIAGRAM XI. They clearly indicate deep Christian influences, contrary to Rastafarian proposals *against* Christianity.

[DIAGRAM XI]

Symbolic Binary Oppositions Expressed
through Nyabynghi Lyrics – Some Examples

{ Jah, Rastafar-I, Selassie(-I) King Jess-us, Negus, New King { King Selassie and Queen Omega Ethiopia, Africa Zion Mt. Zion Home Rasta(man), Bongo Black man Knatty Dread(-I) I-an'-I, I-man Red, Gold, Green Black, White*³ Light Life Book of Life Sheep Peace and Love Truth Spirit(ual) Spirit Right now Free (up) Kali, Holy weed The first order/The order of Melchizedek To give Nyabynghi/Grounation Triumph(ant)	{ Jesus Christ, Pope [Queen Elizabeth] [Jamaican Prime Minister] [Governor General] [Jamaica] Babylon, Vatican, Rome Valley*¹ In captivity Enemy, Rich man, Christian White man [Bald-head man] Dem [Red-Blue-White combination] *² [Black, White] *³ Night Death King James Version Wolf*⁴ War, Bayonet, Wicked Sin, Transgression Carnal mind, Flesh Duppy So long Oppress, Oppression, Oppressed [Rum, Alcoholics] Babylon System, Confusion To hide [Church] Down, Dragged
--	--

*1 Psalms 23:4

*2 This colour symbolism represents Obeah, Pacomania and Black revivalism or some Revival Zion churches (e.g. African Methodist Episcopal Church).

*3 Both "black" and "white" contain double antipodal meanings, and ambiguous polysemic usages in different contexts. [] does not show lyrics but verbal expressions used frequently by Rastafarians.

*4 Note that Anancy or Nancy designating Jamaicanism is not so frequently used.

B. SUMMARY

On the whole, Rastafarian songs are not musically (in melody and rhythm basically) nor lyrically ornamental and complex, but simple, limited to a certain extent, and even crude. It is not too much to conclude that Rastafarian songs are far from their original African counterparts albeit retaining some characteristics. It should be noted that some other folk music types listed in Chapter II (from Olive Lewin) are much closer to those of their African forefathers.

Lyrical expressions, as far as most popular ones are concerned, are retained within the typical Rastafarian themes and concepts, hence full of the Rastafarian jargon. Other categories can be sung to a far lesser extent, such as in children's songs. Their self-satisfactory tendency, chiefly because of the objective and nature of bynghis, is reflected in the limited scope of the lyrics. Rastafarian songs are for "those who have ears to hear" as well as for themselves. Unless one has Biblical knowledge, most bynghi music is impossible to understand. The perception of the audience and the performers themselves must be filtered through the vast scope and vision of the Biblical allusion, however misinterpreted and self-centred their interpretation may be.

The musical groups, on the other hand, have been expanding their horizons. They express themselves to their hearts' content in concerts and records, observe the wider world in responses from the audience or otherwise and other performers' representation, rest, eat, and return to their own bynghis and communities. The musicians, though not all professional, can be exposed to the secular world where every kind of music is played. The feedback process is open. Thus it is quite natural and reasonable for them to have felt a special attachment and fascination to certain kinds of music especially black American music such as jazz, blues, spirituals, and swing.

In addition, a few prominent musical groups have actually explored the African continent, blended and expanded their imagination and statements with the protest against the slavery and the various forms of oppression. Some members of the Mystic Revelations of Rastafari and Bob Marley and the Wailers most of all, have made the most contribution. Popular themes are again the suffering (what they call "sufferation") the inhumanity and the inequity as well as the aftermath of such evils that have incessantly shackled the people to the huge amorphous gaol. These must be protested through music, one of the most effective and appealing means of communication.

If such a song becomes a big hit, it is to be incorporated into the repertoire of ordinary bynghi music sooner or later. So fulfillment further increases.

Rastafarian bynghi music satisfies the gathering primarily as a religious music through the authority of the Bible and the Biblical messages. It also meets their cravings to reconcile the robbed identity as African slaves' descendants, as the black

[DIAGRAM XII]

Symbolic Binary Oppositions Used Frequently
in Everyday Life – Further Examples *¹

Drum	(Electric) guitar, [Organ Piano
(Percussion instruments)	(String, Wind, Keyed instruments)
Man	Woman
Theocracy	“Politrics”, Babylon
“Nature”	“Flesh”-Cosmetics, “69”, Contraceptives, Family planning, Attire against nature – esp. women’s pants, short sleeves
To cover (nakedness) – Long dress, Head-tie	To expose
“Ital” food	Pork, Salt, Scaled fish
Lion	Anancy
Jah Kingdom ya[here]	“Pie in the sky”
Inity	Confusion

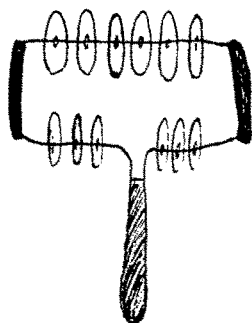
*¹ The items of the list exclude those appeared through lyrics shown in
[DIAGRAM XI].

*² This set of oppositions is neither so clear not so unanimously observed.

people, as the human beings that are supposed to be blessed by God, the Saviour, the Lord in this universe. However strong their oppositions against Christianity may be, or probably because of this, Rastafarian ideas, cosmology and faith are based fundamentally upon Western Christianity, even through their symbolism represented by lyrics. Hence contradictions are known to be born out of their own. Symbolic binary oppositions are expressive, whose substructure is Christianity. Further, some other binary oppositions outside of lyrics and yet frequently used in their daily life are shown in DIAGRAM XII.

NOTES

1. "Irie" is another I-talism (I-tality), a constant preoccupation of Rastafarian neologism. This newfangled expression has gained so much popularity that even non-Rastafarians (mostly males) are fond of using it on many occasions to refer to identity enhancing conditions. They even greet each other with this locution.
2. Even if it may be his "mistake", it does not matter as long as it reflects his feelings and spirits for the occasion, appropriately with the music.
3. A rattle made of wire and small (about the size of a Jamaican fifty-cent coin) round flattened metal taps is used. The shape is shown here:



Some members explain this rattle to be an "Ethiopian tradition". In fact a similar instrument called "sistrin" is played solely for sacred use in the Ethiopian churches today. See further Powne (1968) and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1970). This instrument must be a tradition from the ancient Jews. Other instruments which can be used are the maraccas and tambourine.

4. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church explains its cantillation *Mahlet* as follows:

Cantillation is an integral part of worship in the church of Ethiopia. Hymns are sung in different modes and rhythms ... [and] have been added by various composers. On joyful occasions [the *Debteras*] chant and sing to the accom-

paniment of musical instruments, hand-clapping and rhythmical movements of a dignified and solemn kind. The rhythmic beat is marked by the movement of the prayer-sticks carried by [them]. During periods of mourning, the chanting is in a melancholic mode and is not accompanied by hand-clapping or rhythmic movements. During Lent, the use of the drum is forbidden except on Palm Sunday. From the beginning of Lent until Palm Sunday, a special hymn is sung called *Tsome Degwa*. (The Ethiopian Orthodox Church 1970:68)

5. It is not known when they started this habit.
6. It is a well-known fact that Rastafarians are ingenious in creating and propagating novel words and phrases. They are particularly concerned with the concept of “I” because they claim that “I”, the self, the identity has been denied; hence everything connected or associated with “I” is made best use of. Moreover, the pronunciation [ai] is extremely respected.
7. It was recorded on February 24, 1979. They no longer permit “international guests” (i.e. outsiders) with certain exceptions to use recording material nor a camera. The main reasons are: firstly, they detest personal and material possessions because they have seldom been able to own such a luxury as a cassette tape recorder or a camera. An inferiority complex not only turns them off from money in a rather negative sense, but also positively lets them esteem very highly the spiritual side of human life; secondly, they are somewhat suspicious of interviewers, researchers, journalists, and even university lecturers. They insist that these people tend to collect useful material, return with egocentric satisfaction and write a report about the Rastafarians they met, but with distorted facts, misunderstandings or misinterpretations as well as exaggerations. Thus the truth of Rastafarian life is left far behind. In addition, when their results are published, profits seldom benefit Rastafarians.
8. This was recorded on February 24, 1979.
 “Rastafari” is pronounced [rastafarai] as usual. As mentioned before, [h] sound is attached before a word beginning with a vowel. The reverse phenomenon is also applied.
 () shows the Standard English words.
9. This song seems to be modelled from M. Garvey’s “The Universal Ethiopian Anthem” (Poem by Burrell and Ford). See APPENDIX B. The same song was listened to and quoted by Courlander (1976:154) with minute differences in words.

It was recently printed in the back cover of the latest edition of *Black Super-*

emacy published by the Ethiopian International Congress. This is from a taped interview with a Rastafarian informant on January 25, 1980. The prayer varies according to an individual. The fifth and sixth verses are from the remarks of Jesus Christ. Cf. Matthew 9:37, Luke 10:2, etc.

After a prayer the second verse of the anthem continues.

Ethiopia, the tyrants are falling
Who smote thee upon thy knee
Thy children are lastingly calling
From over the distant sea
Jehovian, the great one, has heard us
He has noted our sighs and our tears
With the spirit of love
He has showed us to be all
Through the coming years

10. Cf. e.g., Matthew 10:8, Mark 10:43–44, Luke 6:31, 38.

11. Cf. e.g., Isaiah 40:28–31.

“The valley” must be “the valley of the shadow of death”. See, for example, Psalms 23:4, 138:7.

12. The second verse is taken from Romans 6:23.

“King Alpha and Queen Omega” refers to Haile Selassie and his wife. The expression “Alpha and Omega” is cited from e.g., Isaiah 41:4, 44:6, 48:12, Revelation 1:5, 17, 2:8, 15:5, 21:6, 22:13.

“Halellujah” is pronounced as *Halellu-Jah*.

13. It was taped on November 18, 1979 at a bynghi in Bruce Hall, Westmoreland, during a one-month celebration of the coronation of the Emperor Haile Selassie.

“Rastafari” has more emphasis on *I* than “Rastafari” though the pronunciation [ai] is the same.

14. This version is taken from the LP *Groundation* by the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari (Kingston, the MRR Records, n.d.).

15. When this film was released in 1971, numerous people rushed to the Carib Theatre, the largest in Jamaica, for the premier show. Some facilities of the theatre were reported to be damaged. Everyone was so excited by the film that they freely mingled regardless of sweaty neighbours, sharing seats, sitting on chair arms and vacant isles on the ground. During the intermission, enthusiastic singing and dancing took place.

16. “Selah”, a musical term, appears 71 times in Psalms and three times in Habakkuk. It generally means (1) a period (2) repeat as da capo (3) fortissimo (4) an interlude by an orchestra, etc. albeit not clear, according to the *Seisho Jiten* [Dictionary of the Bible] (1961:393)..

Another interesting repatriation song develops as follows:

1. I-an'-I forefathers were taken away
(Rep. three times)

Chorus: Oh, Rastafari know, selah

2. Look Babylon a do I down here
3. Want to go to Ethiopia land
4. Haile Selassie is our God and King
5. Open de gate, meck I repatriate

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE AND RESPONSES OF RASTAFARIAN MUSIC

A. INTERNAL INFLUENCE AND RESPONSES

Rastafarian music has not only cultivated the unique sounds and rhythms and the peculiar power of the bynghi, but has also united Rastafarian-oriented musicians in the “spiritual fullness of man,”¹ to be immune to what they consider Babylonian decadence in Jamaica. To listen to Emperor Selassie’s pulses is to imagine the sound similar to the bynghi ostinato rhythm, and musicians then express “high wishes”, “joyful communication and identification with Jah”.²

Mysterious unity and sharing eliminates the nonsympathisers. The nonsympathisers do not attend bynghis because to them, the music sounds monotonous, they do not share the beliefs, and do not have any interest in or respect for Rastafarians. But if they are sympathetic guests, they will open their hearts and minds so that they can pick up the fundamental ideas and messages from Rastafarians themselves and their music. Generally, the “sweetness” of their “rootical” music is tasted through simple yet strong beats of bass and fundeh drums accompanied with percussions and a repeater drum’s ornamental “talking”.

1. INFLUENCE ON POP MUSIC

Local pop music would not have been kept revitalised if the musicians did not pay any attention to the Rastafarian life. However, there exist misleading ideas as to the nature and character of pop music and Rastafarian music. The predominant association or even the confusion with Rastafarian—reggae music which is particularly prevalent recently, is understandable. The reason why the dominant pop king, reggae, has been taken for granted as Rasta music among the public is, because of the identification with Rastafarians by the majority of the musicians themselves.

Musicians can disguise themselves as Rastafarians by putting on airs and appearances peculiar to them (e.g., wearing dreadlocks, adopting “Ethiopian” colours, putting on tams, badges and belts that are coloured as such or portrayed Rastafarian faiths and claims). They use Rastafarian speech — “dread talk”, “ital” language. They know the tremendous power and influence of Rastafarians. Moreover, they are adept in image formation.

Besides, reggae, especially in the case of protest songs, has been playing the role of

a Rastafarian spokesman both domestically and internationally. Above all the international audience has so confused Rastafarian music with reggae that they advertise reggae as Rasta music. This, in turn, affects the Jamaican news media. Similar opinions are found even among the Jamaican people, who merely have a vague knowledge of the differences between the two. Hence it is important to look at both from the stream of each history, the nature and the relationship.

In summary, Rastamen's beats and reasoning sessions are the very source of imagination, creation and expression. The secret of "coordination" has its root in the Rastafarian grounding. The reggae complex, i.e. (mento)-ska-rocksteady-reggae, is an offshoot of the Rastafarian tradition. Bynghis have functioned as a vital source.

Had there not been even the gradual development and maturation of Rastafarian music itself in general, local pop musicians would not have been born and brought up as they have been today. They might have just shown an inclination towards the more overseas influences, disregarding the reality of the Jamaican slums. The genuine fruit of Jamaican pop music has been yielded through the filter of the Rastafarian movement.

There have been various responses to some aspects of Rastafarian music owing to the different elements which led to its development. The African connection, especially drumming, is the key factor to the watershed of the responses. There are those, albeit limited in number, who appreciate and even encourage to evolve drum-oriented music (of beats and rhythms). Thanks to support and positive response, local musicians have been able to maintain and even advance their position in the society. Without an audience, no music can mature.

By turns this type of correspondence between the musicians and the audience-society has succoured the continuous awakening of the Jamaicans' identity. There still remain bottlenecks for "Bongo" music to be accepted whole-heartedly by every section of the population, but ice-cold and despising attitudes towards such music have already begun to melt. It is no exaggeration to say that the Rastafarian movement as a whole kindled and inspired the passions for striking expressions by unexpected means. The use of music is unique in this sense.

Music talks by itself. We can hear and listen to any available music without any difficult theoretical background or intellectual arguments. No literacy is required. People produce music, and music can transform people in return. It is one of the most basic and important means of expression and communication. Whenever, wherever, and in whatever form music exists, people generally respond to it. The influence of a particular piece of music totally depends on people in terms of sound creation, with or without voices or instruments on one hand as performers; or receivers on the other.

Rastafarians do not seem to have been acutely conscious of the effectiveness of their type of music at first. It was probably during the course of both spontaneous

and conscious creation processes that they became aware of their originality. They soon became aware also of the utility of music, even while they were enjoying themselves. Vague ideas and sounds passed through collective labour. When a new kind of music is born, it naturally belongs to the collective whole, a particular *group* of brethren, not an individual. Their lifestyle is also largely communal. This type of production came to be known first to the neighbours, and to the wider section of the society as ripples spread out.

This results in the development of not only the musicians, but also of the society and culture in general. The Rastafarian contribution continues. It does so because people have responded to Rastafarians and they will keep on doing so. The power of their music and its background ideas also have attracted an international audience from the early period of the Rasta-pop connection around the late 1950s. An understanding of Rastafarian music, or at least efforts to understand it, has spread beyond the national boundary by international “call-and-response” communications. The Rastafarians themselves, in turn, have been sensitive to the responses from the society both at home and abroad.

Music can be compared to a river in a community, an oasis in the desert. It is the spring of abundant human expressions. It shapes according to the width, quantity, and the depth of human activities and experiences. Jamaica pop music, in the simplest form, is epitomised as a blend of the two basic streams; one is Western, and the other is African. Between these, substreams such as black American (blues, jazz, spirituals, gospels, etc.), Latin (*folklore* of Afro-Cuban, Haitian, Dominican, etc.) and Trinidadian calypso have been added to the formation and transformation of pop music. In addition to the outer influences, a historical observation proves that the Jamaican musical river has gradually widened according to domestic socio-cultural trends, particularly Rastafarian influences. (The Rastafarian movement itself is also a product of the Western and the African forces.)

To look into the Jamaican internal music scene, the influences between Rastafarian music and pop music have been reciprocal. While Rastafarian music has yielded fruitfully to pop music, Rastafarians have also picked up appealing aspects of pop music so as to develop their artistic music as seen especially in M.R.R., Light of Saba, Abyssinians, Israel Vibration, Ras Michael and the Sons of Negus. It seems that pop musicians have paid more attention to their identity with Africa, black consciousness, or race, on one hand. On the other, they have added more humanistic dimension to a protest against their *experienced* “sufferation” so far in their socio-religious songs. As Rastafarian musicians have become keen on their lyrical messages, recent pop singers seem to have been stimulated to reactivate their capacity to make best use of verbal expressions. At any rate, Jamaican music cannot be mentioned without Rastafarians’ contribution to awakened African roots both physically and spiritually.

2. ELEMENT OF "NAM" IN RASTAFARIAN MUSIC

It is acceptable in Jamaica to say that "Africanity" of music including pop music has survived to a certain extent. Though some forms of Afro-Jamaican folk music are waning, they have never been dead. The main reasons for this living source may be explained by what Edward Brathwaite calls the "nam"³ which is inherent in folk tradition, including music.

Nam, to extract the essence of his concept, is an irreducible core of culture which has survived and is revitalised in a transplanted condition. It has created and recreated various forms from the original. As a submerged cultural complex, it is centred around the religious kernel, for all human beings are said to be basically religious. When repressed and denied, it survives by transforming its shape into an adaptable frame. It has a reversed nature and a reversing power at the same time in order to continue its existence as the living force even within the extreme limits. The Caribbean nam is the nucleus or the eternal spirit of the living African tradition in whatever form.

Here negro slavery is the key factor. The slaves in general were mere economic animals, a labour force, and chattel to satisfy the plantation system and European capitalism. In the European colonies, the plantation system was the principal institution to cradle the metropolises accompanied by the triangular trade. The slave trade had to continue. Slavery was the evil necessity. Racism was adopted in the midst of the vicious circle. Hence, Eric Williams states: "In the words of Professor Phillips, the plantation system was 'less dependent upon it...'" (Williams 1975[1944]:27). And "slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery" (*ibid.*: 7).

The "niggers" were forced to produce whatever the "massas" (masters) ordered. Under such conditions, nevertheless, black Africans were not entirely the private property of the masters; nor their toys, nor their robots to say the least. They expressed themselves through cultural means, whose real meaning and importance *the others* could not fully understand. Clouded by prejudices, the majority of the masters were alienated from and ignorant of the servants' culture.

The exploited, on the other hand, continued their religious rituals and ceremonies, dances and other folk entertainments. Music was always there. Those occasions however limited, however passing, were simultaneously an education to the descendants. In order to hide from the masters' eyes, the servants must be as clever as Anancy (Anansi),⁴ a spider-god of the Akans, a shrewd hero appearing in the folklore. He is thought to have maintained the powers of the gods of creation, and is a well-known trickster on earth. A shrewd Anancy, who is small and weak, will outwit anyone who is bigger and stronger than himself, in order to survive. It is generally

said that most Jamaicans have retained some kind of Anancy spirit, as the enslaved Africans would not lose their identity as Africans.

In reality, the retention of African traditions has diminished. In the world of Jamaican folk music, African tradition no longer functions in the communities in the same way as it used to do in Jamaica. Afro-Jamaican music even seems to have been replaced by pop music in the day-to-day scene, with nam being immanent within the neglected “little tradition”.

Rastafarian nam is naturally different from other African survivals because of its historical context as a contemporary derivative of the African nam galaxy. Rastafarian music has rehumanised the dehumanised black diaspora, reminding the African roots of the dispossessed and thus providing the clue for individual and collective identity. A sense of consolation and security exists. Indignation against inhumanity is burning. Protest for righteousness is in passion. Rastafarian music is a weapon of peaceful revolution. It is, as it were, an injection to purge evil forces both within the “system” and the inner self. It is for the purification of mind and soul.

With tremendous resources of creativity, Rastafarian nam has sprung up from time to time to urge its claims on the public through their music. Reggae has done so in the same way. One of the seeds that sprouted reggae, was Rastafarian nam. But sophistication and modernisation appear to cloud its nature. Reggae and some of the early pop music from ska have been greatly inspired by the Rastafarian kernel.

3. RESPONSES TO BYNGHIS

But then it is important to note the fact that Rastafarian bynghi music is generally not well-known among the public. It is probably because of its immersed nature and because the music is not broadcast like other pop music except those recorded pieces similar to the authentic bynghi such as the M.R.R.’s *Groundation* and *The Tale of Mozambique*.

Non-Rastafarians rarely go into an ordinary gathering since they lack fundamental interest. They may attend one simply to accompany an acquaintance. Some neighbours, out of curiosity, may poke their noses into bynghis just as onlookers, not exactly participating. A bynghi is basically self-sustained and self-contained in nature and functions like a capsule. Impressions one may give to non-Rastafarians seem to be usually monotonous (because most of the music is repetitive), crude, boring, awkward, self-satisfying and so on. Generally speaking, however, children and the youth responded positively.

Rastafarians themselves do not usually expect a large guest-audience at a small bynghi. They care for and entertain a guest, if any, in their own way. Some of them even begin to think of proselytising when guests show positive responses to their

music, chanting, or reasoning. Their intentions, are still heart-to-heart communication. They do not hide nor pretend whatever they want to express. Therefore, they may approach negative responders who remain long at a session, trying to expound their doctrines repeatedly, with prolonged favourite expositions. This kind of representation of the self through a bynghi and its music has an appealing power to all those present.

Other reasons why the influence of Rastafarian bynghi music on the general Jamaican public is limited are: the geographical location, the socioeconomic ambience, the political affiliation, and the psychocultural identification. A bynghi is often held far from convenient places. And these places are in the depressed, hence depressing, areas where people from upper-class strata would not want to go. There, people are obliged to stare at the harsh reality of existence. In those places masses of the dwellers feel insecure to be neutral in the political stance because of constant manipulations and harassments from above.

They live because they love life. Yet their life is far from comfortable. They share almost everything, both good and bad. The sharing is not always based on friendship nor humanity-like good will. They quarrel, abuse and have hatred among themselves. They even kill because they have to satisfy themselves by murder or suicide. The yard life for the others is often beyond their imagination. The others, who belong to the other social strata cannot identify themselves with those people. They feel different. They have tried to dissociate even their cultural background; still, there exists resentment towards Afro-Jamaican folk traditions.

4. INFLUENCE ON FOLK MUSIC

As to the influence of Rastafarian bynghi music on other folk music, it is apparently unremarkable in fact, it is rather little, when compared with its impact on the pop music line. It must be because each category of the folk music tradition occupies its own enclave and is self-contained. It is possible for some to participate in other types of folk music on certain occasions when the function does not overlap with their own. However, they are generally proud of their own and do not feel any necessity to be influenced by other types to change their retained tradition. It has been quite rare for one type of folk music and musicians to associate with another on an intimate basis.

The basic rhythm patterns and the original tunes have been inherited without considerable change at least, however influential pop music may have been. Only adoption or borrowing, if any, has been prevalent from the pop music arena. It should be understood once again that radios, dances, discotheques and even small bars have transmitted hit pieces which have attracted especially the younger genera-

tion. Nevertheless, they have arranged such a taste to suit their original pattern flexibly and skillfully. And sometimes it even becomes difficult to judge which has influenced which.

5. PUSH FACTORS IN THE EXPANSION OF RASTAFARIAN MUSIC

It is interesting to look back at the relationship between the Kumina-Rastafarian connection and that of the Burru-Rastafarian. The former relationship was not so dominant, positive, mutual and collateral as the latter. Actually those Burru people who were closely associated with early Rastafarians in West Kingston and elsewhere in the ghettos from the time of the migration surge to the thriving cities (the first half of this century) were merged into the broad Rasta-slum section; mainly because they lacked strong, comprehensive and appealing (satisfying to their wanted) religious identification as *the living tradition*. Some of them must have been incorporated into the Revival or other lower-class religions (perhaps even Kumina). On the other hand, Kumina people (whose music has some similarity) show indifference and even scorn towards the Rastafarian because they understand that the Rastafarian movement is not an West African ancestral tradition but a new Jamaican movement which advocates the Ethiopian king-emperor worship, the Ethiopian repatriation and an exaggerated somewhat gaudy propaganda.

Another push factor besides the migration trends (which had various reasons, mainly socioeconomic) is a vicious circle of indifference and lack of education of both young and old folks in a community which has inherited a specific folk tradition and music. The younger generation might have been able to retain the traditions with vivid memories and useful functions, if their elders had handed these over to them when they were very young, as their ancestors had done. The present older generation may be blamed provided their parents and grandparents did teach them properly, or the previous generation would have been blamed primarily if they had not done so.

Another factor in the expansion of Rastafarian music and its influences is the attractiveness of the Rastafarian movement as a whole. It is so strong that even in a rural area a considerable number of the younger generation, especially males, have proclaimed their identification either in appearance or in disguise, as if it is "in fashion" and progressive to be a Rastafarian. From hearsay, it seems they are initiated to attend bynghis and taste the sensational yet satisfying drumming and chanting and exciting reasoning with spliffs of the "holy weed", ganja.

Then they gradually come to know the power of the messages through lyrics, whether religious or social if such a distinction is possible. A bynghi functions for example, as a "sacred" gathering, worship, praise and thanksgiving, sharing, educa-

tion, or entertainment. It is more than a church which merely functions to very limited sections of the population. It is not separated from the "secular" place. It deals with every aspect of life, except their own taboos.⁵ Therefore, they cherish a bynghi and its songs, which are inevitably more religious than social in function and content. In addition, bynghi attendants seem to admit the more appealing and invocative effectiveness of social lyrics from the Rastafarian-oriented pop songs, which are infiltrated by "positive vibration", that is, "Rastaman vibration", to quote the titles of hit songs by Bob Marley and the Wailers.⁶

Abuse, scorn, derision and indifference which were explicitly directed towards Rastafarian music have become less and less pointed. Particularly those who belong to the well-to-do, better-off strata and those who can afford to have parties and go out for entertainment might not go to such bynghis, where they may sense suspicion, anger, scorn and envy towards them. Yet by all means they do listen to Rastafarian-influenced pop music, though they dare not approve it emphatically. Those who could go up the social ladder and do not want to associate themselves with such "outcasts", "idlers", "ganja-addicts", etc. may dislike the sounds which may remind them of the past, which they would prefer to forget. Yet, some may go to concerts performed by Rastafarian musicians regardless of beliefs and faith if advertised properly in advance through the mass media. And they might feel that they are progressive. Appreciation began to saturate with a certain degree of awe to the Rastafarian messages. It was impossible to prevent this unusual bold protest song from spreading.

As far as bynghi music per se is concerned, it is difficult to be in the limelight as reggae sits on the throne of pop music, being presently popular. (This does not mean that it is supposed to be or should be in the spotlight.) The trend towards popularity and expansion, however, allows Rastafarian musical groups to release records that help the audience to understand their music more clearly. The quality and quantity of records on sale may not necessarily represent their best. Nevertheless they are enough to make essential distinctions from the reggae complex and also encourage appreciation for both types. The possibility for more exposure and for greater opportunity to advertise potentially exists since the knowledge of Rastafarian music is on the rise.

B. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES AND RESPONSES

The external influences of bynghi music are more limited than those of the pop music. Influence is mostly through records and concerts since bynghi music itself as a social phenomenon is impossible to export. The real music, therefore, is confined to the ears and eyes of those who have actually experienced Rastafarian

gatherings such as researchers, journalists and a small number of tourists with a particular interest.

The best contributor to the external expansion of the authentic bynghi sounds may be the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari. They have been on overseas tours four times since 1972. The year 1972 was the stepping stone for them as a group, as Rastafarians and as Jamaicans. The concerts were held in various places in Trinidad (Queens Hall, Naparema, Arena Bowl and the St. Augustine Campus of the University of the West Indies) while accompanying Lord Brenner, an entertainer from Trinidad. The concerts were a great success in terms of further increasing their reputation.

Another great honour for them was to be nominated as representatives of Jamaica to the first Caribbean Festival of Arts (CARIFESTA) held in Guyana in October 1972. Their unique sound and rhythm captivated the audience. The news media gave them splendid coverage. The Guyanese government even officially asked them to prolong their stay, for further entertainment purposes. Unfortunately however, an important Jamaican newspaper *The Daily Gleaner* reported it negatively as if they were trying to “capture” the land of Guyana for the sake of the Rastafarian movement.

Under the sponsorship of Howard University, they performed in some leading colleges and universities in the United States and Canada (Howard, Harvard, U. of Massachusetts, Amherst, Holyoke, Duke, Cornell and U. of Toronto). After this tour, they started the construction of the present cultural community centre, as well as the entire neighbourhood.⁷

In 1975 they went to Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Their first tour to Europe was not until 1979, when they visited various places in Norway and West Germany. The presentations in each country commanded the passionate applause of the audience. Hence the mass media had very good reports on their performances, with brief explanations and comments on Rastafarian music and the movement.

Other popular groups are Ras Michael and the Sons of Negus, Abyssinians, Ethiopians, Light of Saba, and Israel Vibration. They still maintain the unsophisticated Rastafarian kernel, but some traits of “the children of Babylon”⁸ are observed nonetheless.

Despite the “naturalness” advocated by many brethren, popular music groups could not resist the temptation to use electric instruments for greater effectiveness in reaching the audience. Foreign audiences were accustomed to electrified sounds of the pop music. The musicians are however, well aware of the importance of the original authentic bynghi sound to convey their messages. It should be recognised for the selfclaimed Rastafarian musicians that even other aspects of dramatising their music as a show might destroy the simplicity, authenticity, and their own spiritual power. There seems to be more room to learn and develop the skill to

perform as professionals without being too “modernised”.

If the audience appreciates this open attitude and concern towards the secular world by the Rastafarians (and such indication has been noticed), the effect of their messages would be greater than one would expect. The more applause from the wider society, the more positive response is obtained from the brethren. The previously smothered relationship between Rastafarian music and musicians on one hand and the audience and non-Rastafarian world on the other is improved. So far, the improved relationship has progressed as one of the better influences on Rastafarian music; for the larger audience in general, expects more refined performances than ordinary self-satisfying chanting.

In the meantime, some consideration is given to the significant question of whether the Rastafarians should continue with the wave of modernity, and if so, in what form. The more they try to accomodate the wider society, the more acculturation takes place in terms of Western musical influences which they previously detested in doctrine. What does musical accomodation mean to them? How effective should be the power of messages and the means to convey them across the boundaries and barriers of beliefs, languages and cultures as a whole? How to carry on and develop further the nam of Rastafarian culture depends not only on the Rastafarians themselves but on the audience, in other words, the Jamaicans.

It is also advisable for Rastafarians to listen to an African musicologist's criticism.⁹ If they want to advocate and emphasise Africanness and “Africanity”, why do they remain in their “simplicity”, not developing themselves more musically, (and dancing also) further inspired by the African richness, its remarkable complexity and diversity? From an African point of view, the Rastafarian rhythmic structure is far from polyrhythmic. It is not rare for West African rhythms to become more than quintuple whereas Rastafarian counterparts sound closer to “mono-” to those who are familiar with African music. As far as a repeater drum is concerned, its superb complexity of the rhythms created by musically talented brethren, though only a few, is said to remind one of African music, for example, Senegalese. How Rastafarians answer to such criticisms and questions from an African, is not only interesting but also important.



Scene from an Anancy Story

Illustrated by Murcia Brown

(Sherlock 1954:67)

NOTES

1. From the taped interviews with the members of the Light of Saba from December 1978 to February 1980.
2. From the same collections.
3. I was drawn to this concept after the lecture on “History, Society and Ideas in the British West Indies” in the Department of History, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, during the academic year 1978–1979.
4. “Anancy” etymologically means spider (Twi – *anase*). As a unique hero, he was living in the minds, hearts, and spirits of the folks and still is, to a much lesser extent, inherited as an oral tradition of Anancy stories (or “Nancy ’tories”) which originated from the Gold Coast. On most occasions, he wins, with guile and treachery, because he knows his strength is less than his supposed enemy or rival. Cassidy summarises some characteristics as follows:

Anancy is supposed to be tongue-tied, or to list; but, as Jekyll [Walter Jekyll] pointed out, he talks *Bungo talk* – the lowest level of the dialect, with the most Africanisms, least approaching ‘high English’. He says /yiki/ for *little*; he cannot pronounce *r*. He has a falsetto whine. If the story is well told, one knows at once when Anancy begins to speak! Anansi stories begin with ‘Once upon a time’, or ‘One time’, the usual formula, and end with one from a nurse rhyme, *Jack Mandora, me no choose none*. Jekyll gave this as *Jack Mantora* and explained it as a formula of excusal: the storyteller is not directing the moral of the tale at any individual in the audience... (Cassidy 1971 [1961]: 276).

Borrowing the words of Sherlock, Anancy’s characterisation is as follows:

He was a man and he was a spider.

When things went well he was a man, but when he was in great danger he became a spider, safe in his web high up on the ceiling.

Thus follows an introduction:

That was why his friend Mouse called him “Ceiling Thomas”.

Anansi’s home was in the villages and forests of West Africa. From there long years ago thousands of men and women came to the islands of the Caribbean. They brought with them the stories that they loved, the stories about clever Br’er Anansi, and his friends Tiger and Crow and Moos-Moos and Kisander the cat.

.....

In the dim light they see the animals – Goat, Rat, Crow, and the others – behaving like men and women. ... They laugh at the way in which Anansi tricks all the strong animals and gets the better of those who are much bigger than himself. ... They know that he is more than a spider ... the spider man, and they do him no harm (Sherlock 1954:1–2).

5. Everything against what they believe and desire can be taboo, and they vary according to a group and even an individual as time goes on; hence, the under-mentioned are not necessarily rigidly fixed, although generally accepted. Several examples are shown. Sometimes, either before or after a bynghi, certain meals may be provided. As to dietary taboos, meat (pork and certain kinds of fish are specially detested), salt and any processed seasoning or food items, and strong alcoholic beverages are avoided. As to music, the instruments especially drums are not supposed to be played by women. Women are supposed to wear something to cover their heads. During a reasoning, they do not express doubt concerning the “death” of Haile Selassie, their “living god”. (Some members merely claim their allegiance or respect to him as a great emperor and a leader in Ethiopia and in Africa.)

6. From one of Bob Marley and the Wailers' hit songs, "Positive Vibration" (Words and music by Vincent Ford, c. 1976: Tuff Gong Music).
7. It is still unfinished primarily because of lack of finance. In addition, their desire and intention for the scheme are growing. Since members are living hand to mouth and the neighbours are in similar conditions, they have to wait until some aid or requests for concerts from both inside and outside Jamaica come. They told me that the present government promised to contribute some considerable amount of money for the sake of the late Count Ossie; however, no such support has been provided yet.
8. *The Children of Babylon* is the second locally produced film by Perry Henzel (who also produced *The Harder They Come*). It was released in the late 1979 and has received various kinds of comments and criticisms from both inside and outside Jamaica. When compared with *The Harder They Come*, it deals with more of the love-romance-sex-fantasy of the contemporary Jamaican society. This time, women's roles and characterisations as well as a "free" Rastafarian nature are emphasised. There have been controversies regarding the relevance of the title. It seems to be relevant at least to me, as I understood that what seemed to be "irrelevant" or "unseeming" could be one aspect of the Jamaican reality.
9. Dr. Brathwaite suggested this comment he got from an African. I also have come across some Africans in Jamaica holding the same opinion on Rastafarian music.

CHAPTER VIII

REGGAE A COMPARISON WITH RASTAFARIAN (NYA)BYNGHI MUSIC

As the Rastafarian movement grows in number, its impact and influence on the society have spread from the corners of the by-roads to the main streets of Kingston. In a natural response to these changes, pop music, as a people's music, has portrayed what has happened to the people in the aftermath of the religious, the sociocultural, and politicoeconomical effects in the society. The development, growth, and diversification of the Rastafarian movement as a whole have reflected those of the pop music sooner or later; and its salient trends have appeared especially since the ska period in the late 1950s. Among others, the most profound phase of the Rastafarian influence on Jamaican pop music derives from religious and ideological beliefs rather than their outward appearances and fashions. This is particularly so because most hit lyrics are inspired by the Rastafarian mind.

From around the end of the 1960s, reggae has become the most popular among the various kinds of popular music in Jamaica. Its influence has been growing not only in Jamaica but also in foreign countries, especially in Europe, North America, and the neighbouring Caribbean. Reggae has also been introduced to Australia, Africa, Brazil, the U.S.S.R., and even Japan. It is no exaggeration to conclude that the 1970s was the decade of reggae and the reggae culture. It is a product of the total interaction and the feed-back among the people themselves, basically between the musicians and the audiences through mediation and control.¹

What is reggae? It is "dread" music whose roots are widespread within the souls of the descendants of the African slaves. Its roots are deep in the past, carrying the history of black Jamaicans. Reggae is a people's expression of protesting, warning, wooing, and soothing.

This chapter focuses mainly on the comparison between reggae and Rastafarian music in order to clarify the differences between them. To make it less complex, discussion on the general Jamaican pop music is avoided.

A. ROOTS OF REGGAE

The origin of reggae is found in the arena of the pop music both in Jamaica (from mento) and in the United States (black American music), and in the Rastafarians; yet it is still controversial as the origin varies with the definition.² Most

agree that reggae is the present, if not the final stage of the pop stream, i.e., that of—mento—ska—rocksteady—reggae—, with each stage distinguishable from the rest.

Alton Ellis considered it appropriately as “unfinished music” because Jamaica “is not finished” (Jacobson 1974). Some hold the opinion that reggae is a big stream in which various styles, forms and expressions have mushroomed and these continue to change within reggae. According to one of the most popular and leading musicians in Jamaica, Jimmy Cliff,³ reggae was called “ska”, “blue beat”, and “rock steady” before it began to be used by the people (Jingle 1970). His opinion, however, has such a broad implication that reggae can include all pop music.

And yet it is safe to conclude that the *people* (both the musicians and the non-professionals) demanded more change and ingenuity after they came to feel the boredom of the previous style, that is, rock-steady. The same principle was applied to the change from ska to rock-steady. After the musicians, record producers, and those who are concerned explored and experimented with newer styles in the studios (or even anywhere — temporal studios are many), they would realise that the formalised music was different from the previous forms.

Reggae seems to have taken its shape from the latter half of the 1960s. According to S. Davis, it came into existence shortly after independence in 1962, but the “first real” reggae song was “Do the Reggae” by the Maytals in 1966, which is said to be the first piece of pop music to use the word “reggae”. “Authentic” reggae has been played since 1971 with its bass-accentuated melodies and fevered chanting (Davis 1975). Another source claims that real reggae started in 1967 comparing with the emphasis on the wind instruments before that year (Jingle 1970. cf. O’Gorman 1972:51).⁴ For instance, Don Drummond and Rico Rodriguez, to mention but two, were among all the top players of the brass (e.g., trombone and saxophone) in the ska and rock-steady periods.

Etymologically speaking, “reggae” is of unclear origin. Many admit that they do not know whence and how it was derived. Some say that reggae was a dance of the late stage of rock-steady, which was then called “reggae-de” or “reggae”. According to *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, *rega*, *rega-rega* (or *rag-rag*), and *rege-rege* (but not *rege*) share the same meaning of “rags, old ragged clothing” or “in rags”. The other derivative meanings are “a quarrel, fuss” (*rege-rege*), and “to pull about” or “to pull to pieces” (*rega-rega*), which imply some nature and characteristics of the background of reggae music and its musicians.

For instance, Jimmy Cliff: “Maybe somebody just wanted to explain something in the rhythm pattern to another musician and had said, ‘Reggae de ting mon’ [Reggae the thing, man]. That’s how the expression came. Nobody knows who it came from first....” Cedric “Im” Brooks: “It’s difficult to say, I think... basically... out of people’s languages like a ‘streggae’ [a kind of prostitution which was used

about 1963 and 1964] and a ‘reggae’ and different aspects of social life... Another kind of description of sound....” (From a taped interview on March 10, 1979.) He also mentioned that “ska” comes from the way the guitar sounds, a “ridmic” pulse and that “rock-steady” derives also from the same kind of sound and “can relate to a dance kind of music.”

It is not irrelevant to say here too, that “ragamuffin”, which is sometimes referred to in relation to reggae, derives from the *raga* family. An interesting explanation is quoted from a rather journalistic book on Bob Marley:⁵

“Reggie” ...was one early attempt, then there was ‘regg-eye’ and so on, until it finally settled down to what seems to be the correct mouth movement, “regg-eh”. ...Michael Thomas in *Rolling Stone* suggests one version: “It’s what the besieged Jamaican middle class used to write off as a ragamuffin music. ‘Reggae’, feels Bulldog the Rasta, is just an uptown way of saying ragga, and ragga is just a lazy way of saying raggamuffin.” ...Frederick “Toots” Hibbert wrote the song [“Do the Reggay”], but doesn’t remember where he picked up the word. It’s possible the term is derived from the Regga, the name of a Bantu-speaking Tanganyikan tribe. ...Toots could have heard the name as a schoolboy, adding the ‘y’ on a whim” (McKnight and Tobler 1977:42–43).

Expanding imagination too far might take us further from an answer, some clue might lie in other African languages related to Jamaican history. Available dictionaries could suggest another character of dancing, which is the salient characteristics of the African original life linked with music. A phonetic counterpart, though not identical, can be found among the Hausa *rege* meaning “to shook [*sic*] all of” and *rega*, “to shook [*sic*] (corn, rice, etc.) with water to rid of sand etc” (Abraham 1962).⁶

There is a remote connection worth mentioning. In the Swahili language, *rega* (verb and noun) signifies “to hang loose”, *rega-rega* (v. and n.) is “to waver, totter, shake, to be rickety”, and *regéa* (v. and n.), “to be slack, relaxed, loose” (Kraph 1964[1882]) as if to suggest how they respond to music by dancing. Another of the Bantu family, Zulu, has *reka* to mean “to rake” or “to play ragtime music (Doke, *et al.* 1958).

The Indian word *raga* could also be considered (Hebdidge 1979).⁷ *Raga* generally indicates passion and is also used as a musical term. However, since no strong influence of Indian culture, especially music, on the Jamaican folk and pop music has been revealed, this derivation seems to be irrelevant. According to the president of the Jamaica Federation of Musicians, Sonny Bradshaw, who also leads/plays in his band (Sonny Bradshaw Seven), all these suggestion seems to be just created by

someone or another. He further stated that the word might quite possibly have been coined by musicians and record producers in studios to distinguish reggae from the other types. "Even record producers will tell you that they invented it [the word "reggae"] ...You even could write a story about it." (From a taped interview with Sonny Bradshaw, March 21, 1980.)

B. CHARACTERISTICS OF REGGAE: NATURE AND FUNCTION

A brief comparison between the Rastafarian and reggae is made. First of all, the instrumentation differs between the two, as the nature and function of the music is not the same. Reggae, to begin with, is more commercial than the Rastafarian music. The characteristics of commercialism indicate the consciousness and appeal for audiences, popularity, and its continuity or survival making a hit, and the interest in the material return as profit.

It is arguable, on the other hand, whether Rastafarian musicians mind these aspects at all or not. Generally they are known as nonmaterialists and anticommercialists; yet, they do appreciate the importance of money. They are willing to receive respectable financial support whether in grant or by gain. The material earnings from concerts or records, if any, is supposed to return not to an individual but to the development of a group or its community. It would in turn, facilitate not only the maturing of their presentations but the furtherance of the cultural advocacy to the other brethren and the general public.

The inclination towards commercialism has rendered reggae musicians as professionals to adopt more effectively appealing instruments with the fullest electrical volume. The original Rastafarian drums and other percussive instruments have become less prominent in the accompaniments. The guitar has taken the place of the basic rhythm pattern which is different from the Rastafarian bass-fundeh drumming of the one-two life line ostinato. Love of sophistication rather than of simplicity or nature is stronger among the reggae artists. Their adoption of the same set of instruments as that of Western pop music is a peculiar reflection of the inevitable desire and behaviour of the haves in the Jamaican society and an aspiration of the have-nots. It should be noted that musical instruments are still a kind of luxury to the majority of Rastafarians.⁸ Hence ordinary Rastafarians tend to show unwillingness and scorn (biased with envy) for this sort of "imitation".

As far as the sound is concerned, reggae is "psychedelic", "spasmodic", "sexy", and "kinky" to the more fundamental-minded bynghi lovers. It is partly because of the technicality and the sounds from the electrically amplified instruments and voices that jealousy and detachment are generated among especially the nonmusical section and semimusicians in the Rastafarian movement. It is a fact also, however,

that some semimusicians tend to share the view of reggae professional musicians, though not unanimously. The open-minded concern towards the improvement of the music through the instrumentation should be shown, whether it becomes an imitation or an original at the outset, if the quality of the sound and the total power eventually advances.

The reggae rhythm pattern is quite different from that of Rastafarian bynghi music. Reggae rhythm has the primary accent on off-beats $\{\overset{\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{J}}\} \overset{\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{J}}\}$ ⁹, while bynghi music on the first and the third with the latter less emphasised $-(\overset{\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{J}}\} \overset{\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{J}}\})$. The opposite emphasis of the rhythm structure is more than a musical difference. Rastafarians are proud of the heart-throbbing down-beat ostinato. They even look down upon the reggae beats which show the *mixed* influence (hence “impure” to bynghi-oriented, rather monomaniac Rastafarians), such as the spiritual gospel, mento, and the revival songs, which sound like hodgepodge as an aggregate to those Rastafarians.¹⁰ These influences are almost non-existent in the Rastafarian rhythm. They seem to have been inclined to shut out the outer pop (hence “Babylonian”) rhythms so that they would retain their “original tradition”. This is a reflection of their characteristic exclusiveness.

Structurally, the individual performance is more emphasised in reggae as if to symbolise divisions among the general public in Jamaica. From the ordinary Rastafarians’ point of view, reggae musicians are some kind of individual heroes on the stage, and thus they appear to typify division-makers even among the Rastafarian movement. Here they assume that a group cannot perform the moving music without a division, some hierarchy. On the other hand, the bynghi music stresses more collective, communal performances for unity. It tends to produce non-heroism. To point out the recent fashion of the admiration of top reggae musicians, some Rastafarians claim the reggae appropriately as a “cult of superstars”.

The call-and-response pattern which is clearly heard in the bynghi music is not so conspicuous in reggae. This is another moot point. Many Rastafarians tend to draw a hasty conclusion that the lack of an African tradition is off the proper path to the divine; thus reggae is “Satan music”. In reggae, however, there exists this characteristic to a lesser extent, where the pattern is reflected in one vocalist as “call” and the chorus as “response”.

It is an unavoidable fact that there is an element of repetition in both kinds of music. Some even exaggerate to say that there is no beginning nor ending in comparison to the Western classical music. This tendency together with its simplicity, enables us to easily remember the music; hence the spread effect is wider and more powerful than one expects.

Melodies are much more diversified and full of originality in the reggae tunes than the largely hymn-based Rastafarian chantings. However, both tunes are far from

African tribal songs. As regards the mood created by the melody, reggae is clearly less religious and more violent or aggressive than the bynghi because of the difference in the function. While Rastafarian music has developed fundamentally the ritual or religious psalm, reggae has been formed as a dance music for pleasure (and is abominable to the divine-seeking Rastafarians).

Young people “ride in reggae”, that is, dance to the reggae music in “sensual” and “frenzy” ways partly due to the appropriate tempo and rhythm for a sinuous kind of dancing.¹¹ The Rastafarian dance in general, is experienced as part of the process of communicating with “Jah” and expression of its joy, as previously mentioned. The sweat both from dancing and drumming is the crystallisation of the Rastafarian ritual, whereas the reggae sweat after dancing is more of the physical exhaustion together with certain pleasant spiritual satisfaction.

Reggae does function religiously beside its dominant entertainment and other important social roles. In the words of Sonny Bradshaw, the religious flavour “still takes over” in the reggae songs, implying the profound association with the Rastafarian movement as a religious one. For instance, blatant expressions and dynamic words which often indicate destruction and harshness are grounded in the Rastafarian Biblical glossary such as “Babylon”, “lion”, “fire”, “brimstone”, and “thunder”. Music itself, from a Rastafarian point of view, should be “righteous”, “holy”, and a message carrier. Reggae serves this role only partially. Most reggae artists are also aware of and advocate this missionary role positively, not only by the music per se but through daily attitudes and behaviours materialised from the consciousness as social observers. This might be contrary to what many Rastafarian brethren claim of reggae.

As far as the lyrics go, reggae continues social comments and protests more than the Rastafarian bynghi manifestations. This is why reggae has been regarded as protest music and has functioned as a deputy for the Rastafarian movement. As prophets in the Babylonian wilderness, reggae artists deal with the worldly life in the vernacular diction, despite the accusation that they have “no regard for the Scripture”.

When the protest element is dominant, reggae is an instrument in search of a gospel. When the lyrics are drawn into the Rastafarian ideology, it becomes a means of proclaiming a gospel.

One of the key features characterising pop music is the tempo. From ska through rock-steady to reggae, the tempo has slowed down, which coincides with the more natural and suitable movement for snaky dancing. This tendency is not only for the body movement but, so that the audience can hear, listen, receive, and understand the lyrics more intently (cf. Schaeffer 1973:60 ff). The propagation has become more effective until the DJ style crept in.

The meaning, the clear yet symbolic eloquence, and the piercing and touching

ideas are enjoyed and taken seriously. The vocalised ideas are internalised with the assistance of the steady “ambushed”¹² rhythm. The superb beats are betrothed to the humanistic dictum. The artists are acutely sensitive to and conscious of the experiences and the reality of the people in the society. They treat all the sufferers as their family members because they comprehend them and because they themselves have experienced “sufferation” in some way or the other. The lyrics are mouthpieces for the silent majority. They can sing out for the mutual understanding and protest against the “Babylonian” corruption and the “Sodomite” depravity. They are ringing alarm bells against the devastation and the vanity fair in the “judgement” time. In response to their clear claims and compassion, the audience highly esteem reggae and identify what the lyrics signify. Reggae is largely a democratic and probably “the most didactic” (White n.d.:16) organ for sharing.

In comparison with the inward-directed Rastafarian chanting, reggae is more outward-looking, stirring up both the oppressor and the oppressed, the exploiter and the exploited. However, reggae performances do not necessarily provide the barrierless identification. There remains the dichotomy between the musicians on stage and the audience. In contrast, the Rastafarian bynghi is more circular, intermingling, and breaking walls among the attendance. The only substantially face-to-face (dichotomous) relationship is supposed to be vertical rather than horizontal – Jah and the worshippers.

Rastafarians also tend to oppose the different images of genuineness. The discussion of authenticity is not always easy. Generally speaking, however, reggae musicians are supposed to display not only the individual talent and cooperation within a group but also showmanship. Artificiality exists. Certain identifiable items are put on such as (dread) locks, “Ethiopian” (Rastafarian) coloured clothing and accessories, Selassie badges, etc. Whether musicians are “real” Rastafarians or not, it is a well accepted fact that they have the power to appeal with these appurtenances. Indifference and disgust are shown at times mostly by fundamental Rastafarians for disguised images presented to the public by reggae artists who pretend to be Rastafarians.

Some brethren analyse that the jumbled image of reggae-Rasta music must be blamed partially on reggae. “They (reggae artists) confuse brethren and Jamaicans generally.... Reggae is a part of exploitation.” Reggae has contributed greatly to the development and expansion of the Rastafarian movement as a whole as well as the maturation of Rastafarian music. However, it is intolerable for Rastafarians of action to see the distorted artificiality accepted as genuine. Reggae can be a denigration to the bynghi-loving brethren as it is a product of a “bastardisation” or “cross-fertilisation” since the inception of ska.

C. INFLUENCE FROM REGGAE

One of the very critical influences from reggae is a political one. The eloquence and authoritativeness of reggae are used as a convenient and effective implement for acquiring political power. Tactful politicians know the maximum usefulness of popular music, reggae and otherwise.

The highlights were during the general election campaigns both in 1972 and 1976. Famous songs as "Better Mus' Come", "P.N.P. Bandwagon", and "Rod of Correction"¹³ were used as political propaganda for the sake of the party ideology, guidelines and policies of the People's National Party (P.N.P.), then the opposition party, led by the former Prime Minister, Michael Manley, against the Jamaica Labour Party (J.L.P.) led by Hugh Shearer. The P.N.P. politicians succeeded in incorporating the influential sections of the Rastafarians as well as other black power movements. Without them, they could scarcely hope to win the elections even at the lowest level.¹⁴ They manipulated the symbols related with the Rastafarian movement so skillfully and strategically that they could surpass the opposition party though the J.L.P. themselves did same things in using the popular culture and communication media.

Some popular reggae musicians were forced to think (or "deceived" into thinking) that they should be actively involved in the "Babylon" life for the better. In those times as well as at present, the majority of Rastafarians, representing the oppressed, were certain that change of conditions for the better would come. They grasped the exploitative environment affecting their lives both physically and spiritually. Therefore, they were drawn into the political arena. (It must be noted that most of the Rastafarians do refuse to participate in the "system", especially "politricks" because "Babylon" merely causes "ism" and "skism".)

Politics is often called "politricks" in the Rastafarian lexicon because Rastafarians have experienced and comprehended "tricks" in the politics and politicians' tricks. As to "ism" and "skism", Bob Marley also introduces them into his hit song "One Drop", thus:

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 .
 .
 So feel the drumbeat
 As it beats within playing a rhythm
 Resisting against the system
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 .
 .
 They made their world so hard
 Everyday we got to keep on fighting
 Everyday the people are dying
 It dread, dread for hunger and
 Starvation, dread, dread, dread on dread
 Lamentation, dread dread
 But read it in revelation, dread dread
 You'll find your redemption
 And then you
 Give us the teaching of His Majesty
 For we no want no devil philosophy
 .
 .
 .
 So feel it in the one drop
 .
 .
 .
 As it beats within playing a rhythm
 Fighting against ism and skism
 .
 .
 .

The P.N.P. won in both elections.¹⁵ However, “the promises” turned out to be far from fulfilled after some time in both cases. Hence prevailed lethargy and apathy towards politicians and politics more than ever, full of frustration and exasperation. Songs such as “Revolution”, “No Joshua, No”, “Let the Power Fall on I” were the natural responses of the enraged reggae musicians against the betrayal.

The followings are excerpts from the verses of each song.

Revolution reveals the truth, revelation

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. .
.

It takes a revolution to make a solution

Too much confusion

So much frustration, yeah

I don't want to live in the park

Can't trust no shadow after dark

. . .

The prisoners must be free, yeah

Never make a politician grant you a favour

They will always want to control you forever

.
. .
.

Let righteousness cover the earth like the water

.
. .
.

(from "Revolution" by Max Romeo, c. 1975)

You took them out of bondage

And they thanked you for it

You sang them songs of joy

And they went along with it

But now in the desert

They are stranded and bruised

They say they've been cheated

They think they have been used

Since you are my friend, Joshua,

I want you to know, Joshua,

Rasta is watching and blaming you

.
. .
.

They say you must forward and start anew

(from "No Joshua, No" by M. Romeo, c. 1972?)

It is not a wonder then, to understand the reason why some of the critical songs against the then government were banned.

For example, “Carry Go Bring Come” by Justin Hinds and the Dominoes was very popular in 1964 and is claimed to have criticised the then powerful J.L.P. political leader, Alexander Bustamante, also a trade unionist (founder and leader of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, which has been nearly coalesced into the J.L.P., whereas the P.N.P. has obtained a strong connection with the National Workers Union, established by Norman Manley). The J.L.P. was organised under the leadership of Bustamante in 1943, and the P.N.P. by M. Manley in 1938. (Interestingly Bustamante and Manley were cousins.)

The following is an excerpt from the song.

Carry go bring come, my dear, bring misery
Yuh goin’ from home to home, making disturbancy
Time, yuh stop doin’ those t’ings, Yuh ole Jezebel
The meek shall inherit the earth...

...

Better to seek a home in Mt. Zion I
Instead of keepin’ oppression upon a (h)innocent man
Time will tell yuh, yuh ol’ Jezebel
How long shall de wicked reign over my people

Jezebel is a condemned woman, self-affirmed prophetess “teaching and beguiling my (the Lord’s) servants to practise immorality and to eat food sacrificed to idols.” (Revelation 2:20) She was given time to repent but refuse to repent her immorality. Hence the following warning follows: “Behold, I will throw her on a sickbed, and those who commit adultery with her I will throw into great tribulation, unless they repent of her doings; and I will strike her children dead.” (5:22–23) (From Revised Standard Version)

Another popular banned hit tune is Erny Smith’s “Jah Kingdom Goes to Waste”.

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No man walk free
Violence and crime has a commonplace in these dread times

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Jah Kingdom go(es) to waste
And every drop of blood, we taste
A fe wi own disgrace

Though Rastafarians have recognised and admitted the extent of reggae popularity, this kind of exploitation has not happened in the bynghi music, nor is it allowed. This is mainly due to its submerged nature and the religious/ritual function and rather self-satisfying (at least less influential than reggae) content. The Rastafarians have experienced so much of such victimisation and treachery that they would not fail to acknowledge the ironical yet plain fact of life: no human institution or system is perfect nor divine. Even "theocracy" tends to be considered imperfect.

According to Ken Khouri, political songs, which have existed "since the earliest days of the [music] industry", have been used in "all elections" and "will always be used" (Fearon 1976:23). The point is that the singer is "influenced by the manufacturer" (*ibid.*). "We know," Clancy Eccles, a reggae singer in the P.N.P. bandwagon, once said proudly in 1973: "We were more powerful than the politicians. People hear us on the radio everyday..." (*ibid.*:22–23). The politicians knew, as the reality disclosed, that their political messages were weaker than the reggae songs and that they were more tactful than the musicians in political mobilisation. Still, unfulfilled promises and "lies" can be listed just as verses in "No Joshua, No" to show the invincibility of reggae and its culture in Jamaica and the stubborn and rebellious nature of those who have been constantly victimised. Reggae is rebel music and protest music of the people, by the people, and for the people.¹⁶

Another great influence from reggae is one that most Rastafarians would prefer to disregard. It comes from the attribution of "divinity" to reggae and reggae musicians. This type of response is usually seen outside of Jamaica¹⁷ because of the introducing agents, promoters and middlemen. To illustrate this, the recent reggae boom (culminating in 1979) in Japan has led to some written commentaries as well as in broadcastings. A Japanese writer in an interview with Bob Marley even gave him the highest praises, portraying him as a "shaman" and stating, "...as if an aurora encircled him [Bob Marley]". The mass media has publicised widely the image of Bob Marley as "god" or "a god's child", and his music as "god's music". Even if Marley himself made such a claim, journalism could have emphasised other more humble declarations, such as, "I'm just a music tree." Another superstar of reggae stardom, Big Youth, calls himself music itself: "Music is me". This kind of a self-portrait is another aspect of the "cult of superstar" and heroism inherent in the reverse side of the reggae culture.

There exists a certain versatility particularly among the musicians both in the Rastafarian bynghi and reggae. And yet "reggaematic" sound rather than the bynghi has a profound influence on the Jamaican popular music in producing momenta for the continuing development, inspired by the Rastafarian philosophy and the background reality.

"Dub" is an example. It is a solely instrumental version of a song, mixed in the studio. It has allowed for more instrumental "creation". The technique of mixing

permits artists to be more imaginative. A DJ style was born probably during this process. To a large extent there is an element of word-play, which some musicologists explain to be a reflection of children's game songs. Of all poetic characteristics, the emphasis here is on the rhythm of the sound. The sing-talk style can be a remnant of the folk story telling.

As regards the fashioned DJ style, the quality of expression is in question since the lyrical elaboration and development seem to be at a standstill. Audiences generally tend not to take the lyrics seriously, though the lyrics comment on the social condition and protest against the collective social evils. (Nowadays, both artists and audiences seem to have been so accustomed to this social commentary and rebel-protest types of music that they go beyond understanding these natures and regard them as nothing unusual.) At first the novelty and its total impact of new versions aroused new crazes. As time went on, however, nothing has come to impress audiences except funny and amusing locutions which are easy to pick up. Most of the DJs use the same rhythms; but just the emphasis on words render them to invent thrilling lyrics. Some critics even describe them as "nonsense" and "rubbish".

"Rockers", again a variation of reggae, is a little bit faster in tempo, with military rhythms and electronic echoings. Though it is also appealing to certain sections of the younger generation, the quality of its growth is still questionable. As a whole, the element of play of this kind could be comparable to substitutionism in the Rastafarian bynghi music.

With regard to the acculturation of reggae, it is largely due to the inevitably strong foreign pop music especially funky, soul, and disco type of black American music recently. Yet some artists, though not all, are conscious of listening to the Jamaican "roots" music, i.e., folk music beginning with mento, Revival, Rastafarian, Kumina, in order to develop themselves as authentic Jamaican artists. Olive Lewin pointed out that the Third World are now listening to Kumina music so that they can incorporate its peculiar traits (from a taped interview on February 14, 1980). It is well known that the Revival influences are conspicuous in Toots and the Maytals and some of Peter Tosh numbers. Mento, particularly older types, seems to be given attention recently according to the music specialists such as M. Whyllie, A. Henry, S. Brandshaw, and Noel Dexter.

If reggae were not autochthonous, it would neither have influenced nor contributed to the enrichment of other popular culture forms, for instance, dance, musical (including pantomimes), and drama. For instance, the National Dance Theatre Company (N.D.T.C.) has performed "Street People", "Court of Jah", "Tribute to Cliff", "Two Drums for Babylon", etc. choreographed by Rex Nettleford. Most theatrical productions dealing with up-to-date themes and events use the reggae sound as either the main or background music.

This again exemplifies the dominant influence of Rastafarians on reggae, which is believed to be Rastafarian music. In short, the very fact that reggae is far more

popular than bynghi music and that it is regarded as a people's music in comparison to the Rastafarian music for their own, is the watershed of the difference between the two.

The international concern expressed through music is also somewhat similar. Rastafarian chantings are mostly related to their repatriation homeland Ethiopia and Africa in general. On the other hand, reggae artists as well as some Rastafarian musicians (musical groups) have a wider scope and refer specifically to certain parts of Africa, especially those countries such as Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, that have undergone excessive turbulence, violence, and victimisation.¹⁸ The anxiety in international affairs is provoked chiefly by the concerns of Rastafarians whose sayings have been phrased into the reggae hit songs.

NOTES

1. Musicians here consist of composers, lyricists and performers. Mediation and control are done by "system men", producers, managers, music industry (record companies, discos, etc.) and the mass media (especially radio stations), etc.
2. The origin of ska is far more complicated and controversial since it is regarded as the first form of pop music in Jamaica.
3. He played the role of the hero in *The Harder They Come*.
4. Jingle (1970). Cf. O'Gorman (1972:51). She mentioned "around 1969" (p. 54). She also noticed the change from the predominantly mento pattern with off beat emphasis to a more flexible rhythm pattern.
5. Hebdidge borrows the same kind of explanation from a rude boy "who has made the grade in West Kingston", suggesting that "reggae" comes from "ragamuffin" through "raga" (Hebdidge 1979:18).
6. There seems to be no closer word in the Yoruba. For instance, I could not find any in *A Dictionary of the Yoruba Language* (1913).
7. "Raga" is defined in *Bhargave's Standard Illustrated Dictionary of the Hindi Language* (1946) as "mental affection, desire, trouble, pain, rage, malice, enmity, love, a scented ointment, dye, colour, tint, hue, song, tune, singing, melody". *The Oxford Companion to Music* (1970 [1938]) summarises "raga" as follows: "a scale plus traditional regulations as to its use and the melodic terms to be associated with it in improvisation". Further information is available in the section on "India" in the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*.

8. An ordinary fundeh drum costs more than eighty dollars (J\$) in a music shop in Kingston. Interestingly enough, however, a maroon colonel (in Accompong) told me that a maroon drum whose square shape is the same as a gumbay drum [Pictures 14 and 15], could be made for twenty dollars (J\$).
9. In the words of White, a staff-researcher of African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica: "Basically in reggae a half note is added to the classical after chord. One-and-two-and-three-and-four-and becoming One-anda-two-anda-three-anda-four-anda" (White n.d.: 19).
10. Some even distinguish "straight" reggae from "one-drop" reggae probably referring the latter to one with a predominant mento influence. These expressions are from interviews with the Light of Saba.
11. Other opinions about the characteristics of Jamaican dancing are related to individualism, that is, they do not dance with a partner. However, this is not definitely so.
12. "Ambush" is the recent hit number of Bob Marley and the Wailers. It is included in the latest LP album *Survival* (c. 1979 Kingston: Bob Marley Music Ltd.). The other songs are: "Wake Up and Live", "Africa Unite", "One Drop", "Ride Natty Ride", "Ambush in the Night", "So Much Trouble in the World", "Zimbabwe", "Top Rankin'", "Babylon System", and "Survival". In addition, its cover is full of inspiring pictures, imaginary flags and a quotation from Marcus Garvey's words: "A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots."
13. "Better Must Come" was also a party slogan for the P.N.P. Delroy Wilson sang the same titled song. "P.N.P. Bandwagon" is a political campaign force for the P.N.P. strategically combed out with some reggae musicians such as Bob Marley and the Wailers, Max Romeo, Clancy Eccles, and Junior Byles. "Rod of Correction" was used by both leaders manipulating the Biblical symbol images favoured by Rastafarians. Michael Manley has become known as "Joshua" with his father Norman Manley (one of the seven national heroes), "Moses". This rod or staff was allegedly presented by the late emperor Haile Selassie, whose power and authority are "divine" to Rastafarians. The following is an extract from *The Sunday Gleaner*, February 27, 1972 as to how the rival leaders tried to maneuver a Biblical symbol:

THE ROD OF CORRECTION-VS-THE STICK OF DECEPTION

Seaga's stick is not Joshua's Rod:

Jamaicans will not be fooled again by the senseless and Deceitful political trickery of Desperate Politicians.

THE PNP WARNED YOU. THE PNP TOLD YOU.

MORE LIES ARE YET TO COME. BEWARE!

It's time for a change *now!*

Better must come

VOTE PNP

During the political campaign in 1971, Clancy Eccles' "Rod of Correction" hit the streets: "Lick 'im wid di rod of correction, Faada/Lick 'im wid di rod of correction!...." Here 'im(him) is supposed to be Hugh Shearer, the then J.L.P. leader or his capable co-worker, Edward Seaga (the present party leader and the Prime Minister); and "Faada(Father)", Michael Manley, the P.N.P. leader (and the former prime minister).

14. They might not have been able to acquire any substantial interest and support in the Jamaican politics generally as well as the elections, because they could have been stranded by non-voting or various kinds of *sabotage* for the realisation of the meaningful election.
15. In the 1972 election, the P.N.P. received 56% and the J.L.P. 43% of the votes. In the Parliament, the former won 37 seats and the latter, 16 seats. See Stone (1973, 1974) and Kuper (1976).
16. As to the social conditions and public attitudes prior to the 1980 General Elections, which did not involve so much utilisation of popular music, see Nagashima (1980b).
17. Some reggae fans and some Rastafarians in Jamaica might think similarly. I could not know exactly to what extent this type of response is prevalent.
18. Jimmy Cliff has a rather exceptional protest song on Vietnam. This can be one of the reasons why the reggae musicians are comparable to some popular protest singers as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez in the United States.

SUMMARY

Knowing what kinds of music and which particular songs are characteristic and popular lets us understand some features of the people of a society and culture. Music is one of the most useful means for analyses in both objective and subjective sides of people. Observations and analyses of a musical performance can also show ongoing interaction and communication processes. (When participating in making a contribution to the performance, more knowledge will be added through personal experiences of sharing and inspiration.) I have tried to answer these questions in this monograph. A summary is shown below.

The most striking characteristics of Afro-Jamaican folk music are centred around drums, most salient also in Sub-Saharan music. Drumming has never ceased since the arrival of African slaves to Jamaica in spite of the laws and more subtle controls to ban or discontinue it along with other rich African traditions. Through the creolisation period, slave masters tried to eradicate provocative hitting, tapping, blowing, clapping or snapping in vain. Such sounds have been used for worship, ritual ceremonies, entertainment, or allaying the tedium of work, etc.

Nevertheless, the psychological control of white European cultural imperialism has made the people regard their own traditions as inferior, mean and detestable. Rastafarian music, while it was born and brought up under such prejudice and misunderstanding, may well be said to have provided a key to break through the barriers and to expand awakened consciousness towards the black race and African culture.

The Rastafarian movement is not a retention of a specific African religious tradition but a new Jamaican revitalisation movement of reinterpreted "African" identity. It has cherished and revived cognisance and fragments of survived traditions related to Africa including some Biblical history. Rastafarian music verifies this. It has functioned as a social strategy, for one thing, to recover and revive once shattered identity not only of makers but also of audiences in a rather rigidly structured society.

Rastafarian music shows its creolised nature of African and European amalgamation. More specifically, its African characteristics are demonstrated in the whole drum culture (particularly its complex rhythms – virtuosity of a repeater "talking"), other percussive instruments made by available materials, vocalisation, style and structure. Religious and social functions of Rastafarian music which are inseparable, are more of Africa than of Europe. European traditions, on the other hand, are heard in melody lines and lyrics, and their most prominent features are ascribed to the Christian hymnal.

The St. Catherine Burru proves to have greatly influenced the local origins of

Rastafarian “ridim”. This linkage was backed by the internal migration into Kingston during the 1940s. The Burru people who came to stay in West Kingston were attracted by Rastafarian reasoning as they lacked specific religious identity. The Rastafarians who came to be associated with those Burru “outsiders” were magnetised by “Bongo” drumming because they did not have their own music. Out of the complementary sharing, Rastafarian “traditional” sounds were originated by the late 1940s which the best master drummer, the late Count Ossie, elaborated most of all.

Kumina music might also have contributed to the formation of Rastafarian rhythm patterns. However, this discussion requires further study to clarify to what extent some similarity of rhythm patterns and tones can be evidenced when other attributes differ. Both Burru and Kumina influence on the Rastafarians seems not to have been so profound recently, for the present Burru people in St. Catherine have no identification with the Rastafarian religion, nor do Kumina people. Each category has rather retained its own tradition with less mutual influence.

After those Burru and Rastafarian (and even Kumina) “vagabonds” and “outcasts” in slums became acquainted, a mandala type of personal networks spread the name of Rastafarians and their music. Diffusion and development gradually took place in geographical location, variety of music repertoire and musical group formation along with groupings of the brethren themselves. A Rastafarian grounation or reasoning was held at yards and street corners. The fame of Rastafarian drumming began to give expanding ripples over the wider society by its “Africanness” and superb techniques. And it was during the 1950s, when Ossie and his group were put in the limelight through Vere John’s “Opportunity Knocks”.

It was also a time of sound systems, and the radio programmes from Miami stations were transmitted to the Jamaican listeners. Most musicians in those days were playing Black American music (jazz, soul, blues, etc.) as well as calypso. Mento was also popular and enjoyed as Jamaican folk music. With growing influence of the Rastafarian movement, all these mingling gave birth to the first local popular music type, ska. Outstanding ska musicians were inspired by Rastafarian doctrines, which reflected their music. Ossie and the M.R.R. were receiving increasing fame, and their popular numbers like “Oh, Carolina,” were incorporated into hit charts. By and large, however, their early hit numbers reflected less peculiar Rastafarian ideology or religiosity.

Most of the popular bynghi songs, on the other hand, project Biblical tones and aspiration for Africa or Ethiopia as their Zion. The lyrics are camouflaged by less creative, less esoteric, and less truculent poesy than the popular versions. Most common canticles express liturgical cleansing rather than seemingly virulent antagonism, protest, menace, or violence in *nommo*. The music and its performance have functioned as an outlet or a means of sublimation for (excessive) frustration

and dissatisfaction as well as a sedative of antagonism. It also purges ill feelings or cares, breaks out reserve, heightens piety and increases joy.

Rastafarian music is the very projection of both banes and rewards of the history of European expansion with the Bible and the sword. As a blending of the hymnal and the Rastafarian lexicon, they adopt familiar melodies and adapt lyrics into their own thoughts with altered words and pronunciations. However religious the expressions may be, they also contain the submerged protest towards orthodox Christianity and white imperialism. They censure that Christianity has been utilised as a political tool to oppress and conciliate the descendants of African slaves. They have attacked dormant churches skillfully: the verses are full of Biblical images and allegories sparkling with moral sanction to satirise the establishment and the status quo.

Nyabynghi music has served as a catalyst to their ritual ceremonies and fellowship among the attendants. Its sound and reasoning nourish and inspire Rastafarian musicians, and their performances are encouraged to mature in turn by the attendants. The bynghi may be a navel of the whole Rastafarian movement. It is an occasion of the main source of identity, worship, education and entertainment. It indicates collective homogeneous identification under an umbrella of Rastafarian theology and ideology, uniting kaleidoscopic disparities and conflicts inherent among themselves.

The fundamental elements of a bynghi are at the same time the *sine qua non* of the generalised Rastafarian attributes. The Afro rhythms created by drums and simple percussion instruments go hand in hand with genuine Jamaican religious messages. This is what Rastafarians have fostered and will do as long as they exist.

Though a gate to a bynghi is always open to anyone, their gatherings have been held in rather secluded places, which hindered its expansion into the wider society. However, these occasions provide feedback with the surrounding community dwellers. The effect has increased gradually and has rendered the change of attitude towards not merely Rastafarian sounds and brethren but also the Afro-Jamaican traditions.

With the speedy expansion of reggae, the whole Jamaican society has willy-nilly admitted cultural contribution of the Rastafarians. In addition, international audiences have not spared great applause and further expectation to reggae musicians and Rastafarians. The wider society receives their preaching not through bynghi but by appreciating the popular music development. In comparison to the source music of bynghi, reggae is an adolescent people's music full of protest and submerged antagonism and substitutional "solution" from their perspective. Reggae has functioned as an antidote for the lurid "Babylonian" pollution, virulent sink of "Gomorrah's" corruption demonstrated in the Jamaican situation. Though not refined, the truculent jargon (peculiar to Rastafarians) have appealed even to the

conscience of the “oppressor”. They sing as if to revitalise the forgotten prophecies and instructions. Reggae has been used as a peaceful weapon to fight through unadorned human outcrys against the evils of human life, which caused slavery, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

All in all, it is no exaggeration to conclude that the Rastafarian messages have been propagated most profoundly and extensively by their semireligious and semi-secular music in various forms, whether by bynghi or by pop music. Particularly through pop version of Rastafarian hymnals, the wider society has been awakened to the advocacy of black consciousness and cultural upliftment as well as racial dignity (even to the supremacy) with the most influential and effective implement of the Bible. This is one of the key points for the secret of the popularity and authority of Rastafarian music. Unless they used the Bible and hymnals, their power might not have been so universal and humanitarian as they have been. In addition, their question and search for a genuine identity as the black diaspora in Jamaica (and in the New World) are not only relevant but crucial to a young nation as Jamaica.

Rastafarian music is the junction between the sacred and the secular worlds. Bynghi is more exclusive because it is faith centred, while reggae is more inclusive because the faith is more dilluted by an *oblaat* of more humanistic feeling, claims, and protest of the oppressed people as victims of the moulded system both within and without Jamaica. As a representative of the culture of the oppressed, Rastafarian music has been an eloquent mouthpiece for the “silent” majority. Repudiating the lethargy of the wider society which has been accustomed to the status quo, it has been ringing an alarm bell to stop “wars” and inequity as well as to inspire the “righteousness” in “Jah-make-ya [here]” (Jamaica).

APPENDIX A

Examples of Popular Rastafarian Ital Words

I-an'-I	= I, we, you, man, brethren...
idren	= children
I- man	= I, man, Rastafarian (Rastaman)
ilaloo	= kalaloo (Jamaican spinach)
i-ness	= highness
i-nity	= unity
irie	= nice, well, OK, high, fine...
isembly	= assembly
ital	= vital, natural, natal,
ithiopia	= Ethiopia
iwa	= time
iya	= Nya(bynghi), Rastaman

APPENDIX B

The Universal Ethiopian Anthem (Poem by Burrell and Ford)

I

Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers,
Thou land where the gods loved to be,
As storm cloud at night suddenly gathers
Our armies come rushing to thee.
We must in the fight be victorious
When swords are thrust outward to gleam;
For us will the vict'ry be glorious
When led by the red, black and green.

Chorus

Advance, advance to victory,
Left Africa be free;
Advance to meet the foe
With the might
Of the red, the black and the green.

II

Ethiopia, the tyrant's falling,
Who smote thee upon thy knees,
And thy children are lustily calling
From over the distant seas.
Jehovah, the Great One has heard us,
Has noted our sighs and our tears,
With His spirit of Love he has stirred us
To be One through the coming years.

CHORUS – Advance, advance, etc.

III.

O Jehovah, thou God of the ages
Grant unto our sons that lead
The wisdom Thou gave to Thy sages
When Israel was sore in need.
Thy voice thro' the dim past has spoken,
Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand,
By Thee shall all fetters be broken,
And Heav'n bless our dear fatherland.

CHORUS – Advance, advance, etc.

(Jacques-Garvey 1977:140–141)

APPENDIX C

Additional Examples of Rastafarian Oriented Popular Songs

“Small Axe” (Bob Marley)

Why boasteth thyself, oh evil man
Playing smart and not being clever
I seh yuh are working inequity to achieve vanity, yeah

If yuh are a big tree
We are the small axe
Sharpened to cut yuh down
Ready to cut yuh down

“Rebel Music (3 O’clock Road Block)” (Bob Marley)

Why can’t we roam this open country
Oh, why can’t we be what we want to be
We want to be free
Three o’clock road block, curfew
And I’ve gotta throw away

“Power Struggle” (Bunny Wailer)

It’s the people’s crying
Yuh get a stop dis power struggle
It’s causin’ de nation too much trouble
Endangerin’ lives of innocent ones
Sufferin’ de lives of innocent ones
It’s bound to bring a revolution
Dis ya a left an’ right in opportunism
It creatin’ crime an’ terrorism
And wid all de knowledge an’ education
We’re in a sad situation
So yuh get a power struggle
Yuh get a stop dis power struggle
It’s causin’ de nation too much trouble
Endangerin’ lives of innocent ones
Sufferin’ de lives of innocent ones
It’s bound to bring a revolution
De voice of de people is the voice of Jah
Tears gwine meet de bucking masa
Just communication togeder as one
So as to build a better nation
And stop power, power struggle

“Equal Right and Justice” (Peter Tosh)

Everyone is crying out for peace
None of dem is crying out for justice
I don't want no peace
I need equal rights and justice

“I Need a Roof” (Mighty Diamonds)

I need a roof over my head
And bread on my table

And love for everyone

“I'm Nobody's Child” (Max Romeo)

No mommy's kisses
And no daddy's smile
Nobody wants me
I'm nobody's child

“Guiltiness” (Bob Marley)

.
. .
.

Guiltiness rest on their conscience, oh yeah, oh yeah
And they live the lie of false pretense every day...
These are the big fish who always try to eat down the small fish

. . .

And they would do anything to make me realise
their every wish, oh yeah

“Crisis” (Bob Marley)

They seh the sun shines for all
But in some people would it never shine at all

.
. .
.

So no matter what the crisis is
Do it...
Give Jah all the thanks and praises

.
. .
.

So much have been said
So little been done
They still killin', killin' de people
And they havin', havin', havin' lots of fun

.
. .
.

Killin' de people, havin' their fun
They just want to be the leader

.
. .
.

“Revolution” (Bob Marley)

.

.

.

It takes a revolution to make a solution

Too much confusion

So much frustration

I don't want to live in de park

Can't trust no shadows after dark

.

.

.

Let i'es is i'es in i'es is black

In i'es is red in i'es is dread, yeah

Let righteous cover the earth

Like the water cover the sea...

.

.

.

“Marcus Garvey”

Marcus Garvey prophesy, seh

It a go bitter

W(h)en de right time come

Some a go bawl fi murder

W(h)en de right time come

Some a go charge fi treason

W(h)en de right time come

.

.

.

“Jah Love” (Anonymous)

Four hundred years

We have been here as a slave

Now I an' I must find a way

Of not being enslaved

No shackles on our feet

No whip on our back

Yet I an' I must realise

We're still being enslaved

“400 Years” (Mystic Revelation of Rastafari)

400 years of colonial reign
Has brought the people misery
It has left them such pain
The talk is now of independence yuh see
Seems it wasn't meant for you or for me

“Repatriation” (Dennis Brown)

.
.
.
No matter w(h)at de wicked man a seh
No matter w(h)at de wicked man a do
Repatriation is a must
We must go back there
.
.
.

“Back to Ethiopia”

.
.
.
I can't take it no more
I just can't stand it no more
So let me go home to Ethiopia land

“New Name”(?) (Ras Michael and the Sons of Negus)

.
.
.
A new name Jah got
And it's terrible among men
Eden no like Jah name
And w(h)en yuh call 'im, Rastafari
Watch your weak heart tremble
Eden weak and tremble
Eden no like Jah name
Ah said a new name, precious name, new name
Jah Rastafari, new name, precious name....

“Buk-In-Hamm Palace” (Peter Tosh)

.
.
.
Light your spliff, light your chalice
Make wi smoke it in Buk-In-Hamm Palace
Lend me a paper, lend me a fire
Make wi chase weh all dem vampire
.
.
.

Music and herb is the healing of the nation
Sent from Jah, who we praise, yeah
.
.
.

c. 1979

“The Day the Dollar Die” (Peter Tosh)

.
.
.
Cost of livin’ is rising so high
...
Bills and budgets are moaning
Finance Ministers are groaning
Unemployment is rising
And I hear my people,
They’re crying, Oh Lord
The day the dollar die
T’ings are gonna be better
No more corruption
.
.
.

c. 1979

APPENDIX D

“Cyan Believe It!” (Michael Smith)

Mi seh mi cyan believe it (Repeat)
Room dem a rent mi apply widin
But as mi go in, cockroach, rat and scorpion
also come een
One good knows a fi run
But mi nah go 'bout de go si-down 'pon
high wall like hompi-dompi
Mi a face mi reality
One lickle bwoy com blow 'im haarn
(h)an' mi look 'pon 'im wid scorn
(h)an' mi realise seh mi five bwoy pickney dem was
a victim of de trick
Dem call parties an' politics
(h)an' mi baarn mi belly an' bwal (Repeat)
Lawd, mi cyan believe it
Mi sey mi cyan believe it
Mi darta bwoyfrien' name is Sailah
(h)an' 'im pa'as through de port like a ship
More graan' pickney fi feed
But de whole a wey need
Wat a night, wat a plight!
(h)an' we cyan get a bite
Mi life is a stiff flight
An' mi seh mi cyan believe it
Mi seh mi cyan believe it
Sittin' on de corna wid mi frien'
Talkin' 'bout t'ings an' time
Mi (h)ear one voice seh, “Who dat?”
Mi seh “A w(h)o dat?”
“A w(h)o?” ah seh, “w(h)o dat w(h)en ah seh, ‘wo dah’”
W(h)en we staa' dem lick wi dun' flat
Teach start fly an' big man start cry!
Mi seh mi cyan believe it (Repeat)

Di oder day mi a pa'as one yard 'pon de hill
Mi (h)ear, "Hey, bwoy"
"Yes, ma'an."
"Hey, bwoy!"
"Yes, ma'an."
"Yuh clean up de dark shit!"
"Yes, ma'an."

An' mi cyan believe it
Mi seh mi cyan believe it

Davis a moder of four get a work as a domestic
Bass-man move in an' "bopsy-ticicle"
She prignàn' agehn

An' mi cyan believe it
Mi seh mi cyan believe it

Deh a yard di oder night
W(h)en mi (h)ear, "Fire! fire!" to plate claat'
Who ded, who ded, who ded, me ded, who ded,
Harry ded, who ded, Elenor ded,
Wooy! Orange Street for de 'pon mi head

An' mi cyan believe it
Mi seh mi cyan believe it

Lawd, di oppressed an' di dispossessed cyan get res'
W(h)at next?

Teck a trip from Kingston to Jamaica
Teck twelve from a dozen
han' mi seh mi muma in (h)eaven mad-house

Mi cyan believe it
Mi seh mi cyan believe it

Yuh believe?
(H)ow yuh fi believe it w(h)en yuh blin' yo' eye to it
But mi know yuh believe it
Law ---d!

Mi know yuh believe it!

(From a LP record, *Universal Will Power – The Light of Saba*, "Word Sound" by Michael Smith & Light of Saba
[produced in Jamaica, 1978/002])

(Transcription mine)

APPENDIX E

Samples of Rastafarian Names

[Common Phenomena]

- I. Attached as a Prefix “Ras”, “Jah”
“Bongo” (“I”)
“Bredda” (Brother)
“Sista” (Sister)

(Peculiar to a certain group)

- The Ethiopian International Congress
“Priest”, “Priestess”
“Prophet”, “Prophetess”
The Ethiopian Orthodox Church
“Kes” (= “Priest” in Amharic)

- II. Attached as a Suffix “I”

A. Some Non-Musicians

[“Ras” plus a Symbol-Identification]

1. Biblical

Ras Daniel Heartman, Ras Menelik,
Ras Micael (varieation, “Ikel”),
Ras Peter de Rock, Ras Boanerges,
Ras Zion, Ras Fire,
Ras Gabre (= Gabriel) Selassie ...

2. Social

Ras Historian, Ras de Judge,
Ras I (Eye)-Sight, I Ras I, Ras Dizzy (I)...

[“Jah” plus a Symbol-Identification]

Jah Lloyd, Jah Guide, Jah Lion,
Jah Negus, I Jah-man, ...

[Amharisation (Baptised Name)]

Ras Kebre, Ras Ibuna,
Kes Amaha Selassie, Kes Estefanos (= Stephen)
Kes Palus Selassie (= Paul)
Tekle Haimanot (= Plant of God, the Father)
Wolde Semayat (= Son of Heaven)
Wolde Sematat (= Son of Martyrs)
Wolde Däwitt (= Son of David)
Tesfa Michael
Tesfa Selassie Hamilton

(Female)

Askale Mariam (= Fruit of Virgin Mary)

Atsede Maryam (= Garden of Mary)

Ehite Mariam (= Sister of Mary)

Ethiopia (= Our Country)

Wolete Miwot (= Daughter of Life (Eve))

Wolete Tekle Haimanot (= Daughter of Plant of Faith)

[Bongo plus a Symbol-Identification]

Bongo Purro, Bongo Georgie,

Bongo Hue (or “U”)...

B. Some Non-Musical Groups

Church (of) Triumph

Ethiopian International Congress...

Ethiopian Orthodox Church

Ethiopian Zion Coptic Church

House of Elders

House of Dread

I.N.R.I. (I, Negus, Rule, Israel)

Issembly (Assembly) of Elders

Judah Coptics

Movement of Jah People

Organisation of Rasta Unity

Rastafari(an) Movement Association

Rastafari(an) Theocratic(-cy) Government

Twelve Tribes of Israel

N.B. These groups sometimes overlap because of inner splits or new groupings. They may not, in addition, be necessarily identified as “Rastafarians” either by others or even by themselves. Here the type of names and symbols is concerned.

C. Some Musicians (including DJs) and Musical Groups

1. Individual

Augustus Pablo, Big Youth, Bingi Bunny, Burning Spear,
Burning Wailer, Dr. Alimantado, Fred Locks, Ibo,
I-Jahman Levi, I-Kong, Jah Lion, Jah Stone, Kiddus-I,
King Tubby, Pablo Moses, Prince Buster, Prince Far I,
Prince Jazzbo, Ranking Dread, Ras Michael, Ras Midas,
Scorcher, Skully, Spanner, Tappa Zukie, Trinity, Zap Pow, ...

2. Groups

Abyssinians, Aggrovators, Archangels, Black Uhuru, Brimstone,
Chosen Few, Congoes, Culture, Dragonaires, Ethiopians,
Gladiator, Inner Circle, Israel Vibration, I-Three, Knowledge,
Light of Saba, Meditations, Mighty Diamonds,
Mystic Revelation of Rastafari, Pioneers, Prophets, Revolutionaries,
Samaritans, Slickers, Sons of Jah, Sons of Negus, Soul Syndicate,
Sound and Power, Third World, Tradition, Upsetters, Wailers,
Word, ...

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POSTSCRIPT

This research is my first step to Caribbean studies. I have cast light on the door of the sound world in order to clarify the significance of Rastafarian music historically and socioculturally not merely for Rastafarian studies but also for the whole of Jamaican sociocultural studies (and more extensively the Caribbean). What I portrayed here may be some fragments of the Jamaican sociocultural entity; however, I would be very happy if it serves as a *dessein* to the contemporary Jamaican history, its sociocultural characteristics, or more specifically, the heart of the black-brown mass culture, their lives themselves.

As I could not develop this presentation fully enough, some topics are left out for further research, discussions and analyses. I leave them for another occasion. And at the same time, I do hope more interest and contribution are to come on Rastafarian studies as well as the wider Caribbean studies.

アジア・アフリカにおける象徴と世界観の比較研究
RASTAFARIAN MUSIC IN CONTEMPORARY JAMAICA
A Study of Socioreligious Music
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YOSHIKO.S. NAGASHIMA

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